MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH PERSIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

(BABUR TO AURANGZEB)

BY

Dr. ABDUR RAHIM,
M. A. (Alig.) Ph.D. (London)

Reprinted from Islamic Culture Vols. VIII & IX (1934-35)
with the permission of the Editor, Islamic Culture.



DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
MUSLIM UNIVERSITY
ALIGARH.

MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH PERSIA AND CENTRAL ASIA

(Babur to Aurangzeb)

By

Dr. Abdur Rahim, M.A.(Alig.) Ph.D.(London)

Reprinted from Islamic Culture Vols. VIII & IX
(1934-35) with the permission of the Editor,
Islamic Culture.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY
Muslim University
Aligarh.

<u>C O N T E N T S</u>

<u>Mughal Relations With Persia:</u>

<u>Mughal Relations with Central Asia:</u>

MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH PERSIA

From Babur to Aurangzeb

From time immemorial the immense riches of India or "invitation", as Abbe Guyon calls it, had dangled before the nations of the world. It lured men of almost every nation but before the fifteenth century only the nations of Central Asia and the Arabs could avail themselves of it.[1] (This desire of going to India is beautifully described by Sa'ib:

همچو عزم سفر هند که در هر دل است

رقص سودای تو در هیچ سری نیست که نیست

In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, India, unlike her less fortunate neighbours, escaped the horrors of the Mongol deluge on any perceptible scale; fortunately for India it flowed westward, where for a time it completely submerged the political and cultural power of Islam.[2] (Tabaqat-i-Nasiri tells us of many small invasions in the time of Iltamish. Barni also mentions many such invasions in the time of 'Alau'ddin Khalji, but they were ineffective and were often successfully repelled. Ibn Batutah says, that he saw the following inscription on Tughlak's Mosque in Multan:- "Twenty-nine times I have fought the Tartars and defeated them and hence am I called Al-Malik-al-Ghazi." Defremery III. 202)

The Mongol invasion of Muslim countries had unexpected repercussions in India, for it stemmed the tide of invasion from the North-West for over 150 years, besides the great cultural benefits that directly accrued to India from it.[3] (Though the hosts of Changiz Khan in their

---

Note: In this article no particulars except the number are given of the British Museum manuscripts; in all other cases full particulars are usually given.

terrific inroad, destroyed the most important places of learning and massacred all learned men they could lay their hands on, yet many found refuge in India where they brought about a renaissance, by giving great impetus to the study of art, medicine, law, literature and especially mysticism.

Though the Mongol invasion had far-reaching effects on the homeland of Arab civilization yet it had no direct effect on the sea-power of the Arab merchants and communities around the Indian Ocean. They flourished undisturbed till the end of the fifteenth century, when a new competitor appeared on the scene and swept them away. It must not be assumed that Persia and other Muslim countries under Tartar and Mongol dominion had not much diplomatic intercourse with India.[1] (Browne's remarks in this connection are very interesting and I may be pardoned for quoting them at some length:- "It is necessary to remind the reader, who may be apt to think of far-reaching international relations as in large measure a product of modern times and an outcome of facilities of communication, how considerable was the intercourse at the time we are considering between Asiatic (not merely Muslim) States far removed from each other." Persian Literature under Tartar Dominion, p. 37.)

The discovery of America, followed by that of the sea-route to India, entirely upset the old balance of power, and the age-long struggle between the Cross and the Crescent assumed a totally new phase distinctly to the advantage of the former. Within a few decades after the appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean the maritime power of the Muslims received a blow from which it could never

recover and the Arab ships almost disappeared from the Eastern seas.[1] (See in this connection Whiteway's The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, p.3.)

By a strange cooincidence this period almost corresponded with the foundation of the Mughal Empire in India and the revival of Persian nationalism in the form of Shia doctrines under the aggressive leadership of the Safavis, which was a sort of thin wedge driven into the Muslim body-politic and did so much "to undermine the unity and weaken the power of Islam."[2] (Persian Literature in Modern Times, p. 69.) The appearance of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean, the advent of Babur in India and the rise of the Safavis were all events of the greatest historical importance, not only to Islam but to Europe as well.[3] (The rise of the Persian power under the Safavis was very opportune for Europe and reacted very favourably on her struggle with the Turks. Busbecq, Ferdinand's ambassador at Constantinople, wrote:- " 'Tis only the Persian stands between us andruin. The Turks would fain be upon us but he keeps him back.")

See Creasy, History of Ottoman Turks (1877) p. 171, also Daniel). Life and Letters of Busbecq, vol. I, p.221. The following remarks of Browne about the Safavi power are interesting:- "It marks not only the recreation of the Persian nationality after an eclipse of more than eight centuries and a half, but the entrance of Persia into the comity of nations and the genesis of political relations which still to a considerable extent hold good.")

As we are reviewing these events from an Indian stand-point it will be true to say that from this time onward the history of India

was no longer in a water-tight compartment and India began to be increasingly connected with outside events. For the first time in her chequered history, India beheld something like a stable Empire with a strong Central Government, whose position in international affairs began to be felt. One great handicap which prevented the Mughal Empire from being as effective a factor in international affairs as its great extent and the vastness of its resources warranted, was the total absence of an effective navy. So ridiculous was its position in this respect that, even for suppressing pirates and protecting its shores, it had to seek the help of various European navies which, at different times, commanded the coast of India.* (Shihabu'd-din Talish (Bodleian MS. 589) gives a graphic description of their helplessness against the pirates of Chatagaon and the Kingdom of Arracon, who devasted every year the whole of South-eastern Bengal, carrying away thousands of men and women into slavery, and immense booty. Many unsuccessful attempts were made by the Mughal governors till Sha'ista Khan succeeded in winning over the Feringi pirates by bribes and promises of reward and succeeded with their co-operation in destroying this hornet's nest.) Unfortunately the great importance of a strong navy to an empire with a vulnerable sea frontier of nearly a thousand miles was never realised.

Babur brought to India the unfulfilled ambition of conquering his ancestral lands; and this ambition fired the imagination of all his descendants and loomed large in the course of their foreign policy. This desire to possess Mawara-un-Nahr also brought them in line with the course of Persian diplomacy and frustrated the attempts of the Ottoman Sultans to draw them into a religious alliance of Sunni Powers against

Persia. It also estranged them from the khans of Mawara-un-Nahr, who afraid of an invasion from India, usually exploited the religious tolerance of the Mughal emperors and their "deviation from the path of orthodoxy" by extensive propaganda among the tribes of the North-West frontier of India, and thus tried to maintain a semi-independent and discontented zone between them and India. The additional fear of Indo-Persian co-operation in case of an attack drew them into closer alliance with the Ottoman Sultans.

The Ottoman Sultans on their side tried often in vain to break the Indo-Persian friendship and to form a triple/alliance against the Qizilbashes. Though for a time the Mughal Emperors played with this idea, in the end the desire to possess the ancestral lands proved stronger. A notable example of this temporary attitude is furnished in Akbar's treaty with 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg about the division of Persia, very much on the lines of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. This treaty also for the first time established a definite boundary-line between India and Turan. Before this treaty the Mughal emperors had considerable influence north of the Hindu-Koh; but after 'Abdullah's conquest of Badakhshan their influence was restricted only to the south of that mountain of which most of the passes were controlled by the Uzbegs. This made an effective government in Afghanistan almost impossible and that country could not enjoy the same measure of peace, security and progress as the rest of India under the Mughals.

The relations of the Mughal Empire with Persia were usually very friendly, and were more or less on a permanent basis.[1] (Abbas the Great gave expression to this feeling of friendship in the following couplet:-
"Between us and you there cannot be trouble. There can be naught but

love and trust.") It is true that there was often misunderstanding and friction about Qandhar,[1] (About Qandhar Mr. Longworth Dames says:- "... Kandahar sometimes belonged to the one and sometime to the other ..." and again "... In Kandahar province the frequent changes of government between India and Persia fomented dissension and intrigue ...." p.168. Ency. of Islam.) and the attitude of the Mughal emperors towards the Shia States of the Deccan was not acceptable to their Persian allies; but, on the whole, it can be safely said, the relations of the two Empires were quite cordial. This friendship was also due to the memory of Babur's alliance with Isma'il and Tahmasp's help to Humayun. Besides most of the Timurids, though apparently Sunnis, had a soft corner in their heart for the Shi'a doctrines and consequently they had no religious objection to be closely allied to Persia, unlike other Sunni powers.[2](Many Timurids openly professed Shia doctrines. A notable example is that of Sultan Husain of Herat who "endeavoured to replace the Sunni by the Shia doctrines." (Persian Lit. in Modern Times.)

The Persian influence at the court of Delhi was also very considerable, for the Mughals were famous for their patronage of art, literature and learning, and attracted/many artists, poets and scholars 461
driven from Persia by a lack of patronage and the narrow fanaticism of the Safavis which discouraged "everything connected with the Accomplishments (as opposed to the Legalities)."[1] (Persian Lit. in Modern Times, p.26. In this connection the following couplet of Ali Quli Salim a poet of the Safavi period, is interesting:

نیست در ایران زمین سامان تحصیل کمال

تا نیامد سوی هندستان حنا رنگین نه شد

Persia also supplied many brilliant statesman and administrators to the Mughal court. Hakim Abu'l Fath, the talented foreign minister of Akbar, Asaf Khan, the prime minister of Jahangir and Shahjahan, 'Ali Mardan and Amir Khan the the two famous wardens of the Marches, Ruhullah Khan, the able finance minister of Aurangzeb, and many other notables of Mughal India came from Persia. It is probable that some of these were driven by the religious persecution of the Safavis.)

The Mughal Emperors were also bound to the Safavis by ties of marriage.[1] (Many Safavi princesses were married to Mughal princes. Jauhar speaks of Humayun's betrothal to a daughter of Ma'sum Beg.(See Stewart 75).

There are two very interesting letters in Jami'a-i-Insha (Add 7688) (i)"Letter of Bilqis Makani Miriam Begum to her mother in Persia." ff.172. (ii) "To her sister Zeynab Begum" ff.127b. Akbarnama, III, 1251,(Trans.) says that Mir Ma'sum Bukhari returned from Persia with a letter from the Shah's aunt to Miriam Makani. I had no time to investigate this matter fully, but Browne mentions one Zeynab among the daughters of Shah Isma'il I. (Pers. Lit. in Modern Times. p.81., footnote 2.)

It must not be assumed that there was no friction; on the contrary their mutual jealousies caused considerable bad blood and even at times open hostility; but, generally speaking, the relations continued to be friendly till 'Abbas II and Aurangzeb severed them.

Only with Persia and Turkey the Mughal Emperors maintained relations on a footing of equality.[2] (It is true that the Mughal Emperors considered themselves as the greatest sovereigns in the world, but the rulers of Turkey and Persia were addressed as equals. Sir Thomas Roe's remark that "---Neyther will this overgrown elephant descend

to article or bynde himself reciprocally to any Prince on terms of equality," though true in a way, was probably the result of Roe's disappointed frame of mind.) Their attitude to the rulers of Turan was not the same.

They had also sporadic relations with the smaller States of Cen- 462
tral Asia[1] (In Mughal histories smaller States like Kashghar, Urganj, and Shahranu are mentioned by their name while Trans-Oxiana and Bukhara are spoken of sometimes as Turan, sometimes as Mawara-un-Nahr.) and Arabia[2] (Yaman, see Bernier 133, Alamgirnama 886, Nai'ma; Hadramut, Alamgirnama 883, 886, Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri 350.) and sometimes received envoys from Abyssinia,[3] (Bernier 134-144, Manucci considers the ambassadors as impostors, Storia, ii, p.110-114, Ma'athir, 108 (Second Embassy), Tibet,[4] (Bernier) Barbary, the Sharif of Mecca and some European Powers.[5] (The English, Dutch, Portuguese and some other European powers sent them envoys, Charles II, when in exile, sent Viscount Bellomont to ask for their aid against Cromwell. See Storia I,p.59.)

The Mughal Emperors of India had an exaggerated idea of their i importance as the direct descendants of Timur. They had a way of referring to his short-lived Empire, or even his less permanent conquests, as their legal patrimony. By this they justified their costly expeditions to Central Asia, and Babur's conquest of India. Even Persia and Turkey were considered by them to be under moral obligation to them for the "generosity" of Timur to Sultan Khwaja 'Ali Siahposh[6] (A reference to Sultan Khwaja 'Ali's interview with Timur has been made by many historians. Strangely enough, Sir Percy Sykes says that the interview took place between Timur and Sadru'd-din. Muhammad 'Ali bin Nura in

his History of Isma'il (Or 3245) described the interview on ff. 13, and release of Turkish prisoners on ff. 16. See also Mirat-us-Safa (Add. 6539) ff. 144. It is more surprising that Browne's remarks (Pers. Lit. in Modern Times, p. 46.) should have escaped Sykes (page 158, vol. II., 1930) who followed Malcolm.) and Musa.[1] (Their attitude towards Turkey will be described in some detail later on. See also Timur's correspondence with Bayazid, Munsha'at-i-Salatin, vol. I, p. 118-104; Muhammad I and Shahrukh (ibid. 141-152). On the other hand, the sovereigns of the Safavi dynasty always thought they had a lien on the whole of India by reason of the help rendered by Tahmasp to Humayun. These two mental attitudes are found throughout their diplomatic relations and were often the cause of considerable unpleasantness between the otherwise friendly houses.

The diplomatic relations were first established by Isma'il I who, after the conquest of Merv and the death of/Shaibani Khan,[2](The war with Shaibani was due in a way to a diplomatic incident. He was very insulting to Isma'il's ambassadors, Shaikh Mohiyu'd-din and Qazi Ziau'd-din, and sent an insulting letter threatening invasion of Persia. Isma'il was addressed as اسمعیل داروغه f. 177a and 178, Or 3248.) treated Babur's sister Khanzada Begum[3] (See Babur's Memoirs, pp. 14, 15. Tarikh-i-Rashidi (p. 175, 186) tells us that she was married to Shaibani, according to a clause in his treaty with Babur. Some authorities also tell us that she was subsequently divorced by him for her partiality towards her brother and later married one Sayyid Hadi; if so, I believe he is 'Abdul Hadi whose death is mentioned in Br. Mus. MS. Or 3248, during Isma'il's attack on Merv. The 'Abdullahnama says

that she was "bestowed on a noble Sayyid after being divorced by the Khan." ff.33.) - one of the captives - with great respect and sent her along with his ambassador to her brother. Babur received the embassy at Qunduz, where he had come at the invitation of Khan Mirza, and he in return sent an embassy to thank the Shah.[1] (Khan Mirza was sent says Tarikh-i-Rashidi "with protestation of submission." p. 239 (Trans.) See also Erskine, p. 307 and 308, vol. I.) This led to further relations, and we learn from Rauzatu's-Safaviya that on one occasion Najam Sani was sent to negotiate an alliance against the Uzbegs. The terms of this alliance are nowhere given, but, if the apparently biased account of Mirza Iskandar Munshi is to be accepted, Babur had the Khutbah read in the Shah's name, and his soldiers wore the red caps.[2] (According to Abul Fazl, Firishta, Khafi Khan and other Indian historians, both the Khutbah and coins were in Babur's name.

'Abdullahnama supports Iskandar and attributes the hostility of the people of Trans-Oxiana to Babur's regime to the introduction of Shi'a dress and manners, f. 33b). With Isma'il's help Babur succeeded for a short time in re-occupying his ancestral lands.

I have referred to the unpopularity of this alliance elsewhere; but it may be here pointed out that it was Isma'il's desire to have a friendly power in Trans-Oxiana strong enough to keep the lawless Uzbegs in control, while accepting with complacency the loss of Khurasan. Isma'il also wanted Babur to devote all his energies to the North, for he had his own designs on Southern Afghanistan and possibly India.

After the battle of Ghazhdewan[3] (Tarikh-i-Rashidi (Trans.) p.281 'Abdullahnama f. 34b. 'Abdullahnama describes the battle as between

the forces of "Kufr and Islam.") the Persian influence in Central Asia received a definite check, and Babur had to give up all hopes of conquest in the North and turn his/attention once more to Qandahar[1] (For Qandahar and Babur see page 355, Erskine and f. 109. Tarikh-i-Sindh and D'Ohsson's Historie des Mongoles.) and the kingdoms of the Arghuns. This did not meet with Isma'il's approval, and diplomatic relations were not maintained for a long time.[2] (Isma'il even attempted to occupy Qandahar; many attempts were made, the most famous being the one made by his General, Shah Rukh Beg Afshar, f. 94 (Or., 3248).

Ismail, like all his descendants, considered the Indus as the natural boundary between India and Persia in the East, and the Euphrates between Persia and Turkey in the West; Persia to them, meant the whole of the vast empire of Darius; but Darius had no one half so grim as Selim to reckon with. Babur thus obtained a free hand to consolidate his position in Southern Afghanistan,[3] (See Rush. Williams, pp. 117-119) and eventually to conquer India. Babur's attitude towards the Persians is very clearly stated in his letter[4] (J.A.S.B. 1920, p. 329; letter discovered by Prof. Julius von Klaproth.) to Mirza Kamran, in which he makes no secret of his dislike of the Persians their religion and manners. Tahmasp, however, sent an embassy to congratulate Babur on the conquest of India, and we learn that Yunus 'Ali was appointed to entertain the ambassador.[5] (The ambassadors, it is stated, brought many presents which included two fine Circassian slaves for Babur's harem. See Baburnama, (Rev.) p. 631, also Babur's Memoirs, p. 346, Erskine, 1. p.457.)

After Babur's death[6] (For the effect of Babur's death on the Persian policy, see ff. 146b Rauzat-us-Safaviya.) Tahmasp made several

attempts on Qandhar; that made in 941 A.H. by Sam Mirza is well known.[1] (Budauni, however, gives 942 " زده پادشاه کامران سام را " both Afzalu't-tuwarikh and Ahsanu't-tawarikh give 941 A.H. as the date of attack.) These repeated[2] (After Sam Mirza's attempt in 941, Murad Sultan Afshar made another attempt, Afzalu't-tawarikh ff. 84; another attempt was made a few years later, ibid, ff. 95, Yet another attempt is described in Rauzat-us-Safaviya ff. 173b.) attempts caused ill-feeling on both sides and there was no diplomatic intercourse till after Humayun's visit to Persia.[3] (For Humayun's visit, see ibid, ff. 183b (arrival) 185b (reception) 190 (departure). It is well known that the Shah's help was bought with the promise to surrender Qandahar after its conquest. So great was the importance of this fortress in the eyes of the Shah that he appointed his infant son as the head of the army of occupation./ 465
Humayun made it over to Budagh Khan,[4] (For Humayun's occupation see Afzalu't-tawarikh ff. 125; Edwardes wrongly states that the Shah's son died after the occupation of Qandahar by the Persians.)although the Shah's son had died during the operations, but treacherously re-occupied it at the instigation of Bairam Khan and other nobles, who argued that it was impossible to carry on operations against Kamran without a proper base.[5] (It is alleged that Humayun held a Council of Nobles when this decision was arrived at. (ibid ff 126.) Humayun wrote to the Shah "As Budagh Khan Kajar has acted contrary to the royal order, I have taken over the fort from him and given/it to Bairam Khan, who is one of your subjects, consequently consider it under your control." Akbarnama I. p.288 (Nawal Kishore). Abul-Fazl and Budauni both give some lame excuses for this 'breach of promise' and 'ingratitude,' but

Humayun, like Metternich, must have thought that "there is no greater mistake than gratitude in politics." Ahsanu't-Tawarikh, however, describes it as a breach of the law of nations, and this is one of the few references to the law of nations I have come across in Persian manuscripts.

The slaughter of the Qizilbashes by the local Sunni population further estranged the feelings between the two sovereigns; consequently Khwajah Ghazi was sent to apologise and explain the real situation,[1] (For the account and object of his mission see Afzalu't-tawarikh ff: 161b.), but it seems his mission was only partly successful, as is proved by the account of the following embassy, although Abu'l-Fazl says that Mirza was promoted on his return from Persia for good services.[2] (Akbarnama, I, p. 400 (Nawal-kishore). Another embassy[3] (For an account of this embassy see Afzalu't-Tawarikh ff.162.) which is not mentioned by any Indian historian, though references to it are found in the two manuscript histories of the reign of Tahmasp, is that of Qazi Zainuddin Shaikhali. This mission must have been sent to carry on further negotiations and to induce the Shah to wait till Humayun had sufficiently consolidated his position to fulfil his promise, for he could hardly afford at this time an attack from that quarter. This embassy is interesting from the point of view of the diplomacy of the period, for it proves the practice of sovereign sending/two separate sets of letters to each other; one official and the other private.[4] (On ff 162 (ibid) a copy of a small letter penned by Tahmasp himself is given. It is refreshingly simple and informal and throws a good deal of light on the Shah's character. A couplet of

the Shah's own composition is also given. It cannot be claimed that it is good poetry but it is very amusing.)

Soon after the conquest of Kabul[1] (Rauzat'us-Safaviyah, however alleges that Kabul, too, was conquered by the help of the Persians. It says "After the conquest of Qandahar the Qizilbash army under Bairam Beg Baharlu left for the conquest of Kabul, Ghaznin,etc."ff. 191b.) the Shah sent an embassy of congratulation, at the same time asking for the return of Qandahar, but the embassy was dismissed with empty promises. It is probable that Bairam Khan, who was holding Qandahar as his Jagir, was responsible for this attitude of Humayun.

The Shah was very disappointed and did not send any more embassies till after Humayun's death, when he sent an ambassador to Akbar on this occasion to tender the Shah's condolence on the death of his father.[2] (Afzalu't-tawarikh says "At this time H.M. became aware of the death of Gurgani Padshah and sent an eloquent ambassador for condolence and congratulation to his son Jalaluddin Akbar." f. 208.) As no mention of this embassy is to be found in any Indian history, it must have been an informal one. Officially these message were conveyed a few years later by Prince Sayyid Beg Safavi. He probably carried back news of the disturbed state of India, for on his return the Shah started preparations to attack Qandahar. A ready excuse was furnished by the rebellion of Bahadur Khan, the Mughal Governor of Zamindawar, who, as is apparent from Persian histories, was at first in league with the Shah but, when he refused to surrender Zamindawar to the x troops sent by the Shah, the Shah turned against him.[3] (Afzalu't-tawarikh says "Bahadur Khan approached the Shah for help. The Shah ordered Sultan

Husain Mirza son of Bahram Mirza, Quli Khalifah Shamlu, Allah Quli Beg Afshar etc., etc., to proceed with troops. He also sent firmans to Sultan Khudabanda, the governor of Khurasan and Muhammad Khan Taklu, governor of Herat, to help them. He also ordered Bahadur Khan to hand over Zamindawar to his (the Shah's) servants." f.209)

Shortly after Bahadur Khan attacked Qandahar and Shah Muhammad Kilati had notother alternative than to ask the Shah for the co-operation of the troops sent in the beginning to help Bahadur Khan, as the help from India/was a remote possibility."[1] (See Akbarnamah, II, p.65.) The Shah sent 'Aliyar Beg Afshar with 3,000 Turkomans to help Shah Muhammad. 'Aliyar suddenly fell on the rear of Bahadur and completely routed him; but Shah Muhammad now made excuses for not surrendering the fort.[2] (A complete account of these events is also to be found in Ahsanu't-tawarikh, ff. 151.) The Shah, incensed at this constant bickering, decided on an open attack under the command of Wali Khalifah, Shamlu and Sultan Husain Mirza but the attack failed. Another under 'Ali Sultan Shamlu was more successful and the fort surrendered after a prolonged siege.[3] (Ahsanu't-tawarikh ff. 153.) The success was followed by the occupation of Zamindawar.[4] (Ibid ff. 145.) The Persian and Indian authorities are very much at variance as to the causes which led to Shah Muhammad's surrender. Abu'l-Fazl attributes it to the command of Akbar who, it is alleged, "did not want to fight a friend"[5] (Akbarnama, II. (Trans.) p.98.) and lauds "the gentleness and humanity which were here displayed to such a high degree, and the observance of adherence to obligations which were so conspicuous": but it is possible that this recognition was a little late and compulsory. The Persians, however, are

emphatic about the success of their arms, and attribute the surrender to the helplessness of Shah Muhammad.[1] (Afzalu't-tawarikh, ff. 223.) The truth probably is between the two versions; Akbar being busy at this time near Gwalior was unable to send a relieving force immediately, left the question of surrender to the discretion of the local governor who, thinking it impossible to hold out very long, surrendered on the pretence of having received insturctions from the Emperor. This suited the Persian King very well, for he gratefully acknowledged the unoffered and in fact wrested gift from his "dutiful son."[2] (in the firman bestowing the Governorship of Qandahar on his nephew, Sultan Hussain Mirza. The copy of the firman is given in Afzl ff. 224.)

An ambassador, Shah Ghazi, was sent soon after the fall of Qandahar to Persia, No direct reference to this embassy is made by any Indian historian, but one is found in the Shah's letter to Akbar which is reproduced/in Akbarnama. This Shah Ghazi is probably Khwaja Ghazi 468
of the previous embassy.[3] (Mr. Beveridge thinks he is Ghazi Khan Bakhshani, but I think he is Shah Ghazi Tabraizi mentioned by Budauni (page 288. text ii, Bowe 233). A Persian and a Shi'a was more likely to have been employed, as I have already said. That Shah Ghazi was a great favourite with the Shah is proved by his letter to Akbar. Tahmasp, whose religious intolerance was well known, would not have bestowed so amny signs of his favour on a Sunni.)

In 1563 A.D. arrived the historic embassy of Prince Sayyid Beg Safavi,[4] (For the account of this embassy see Akbarnamah. II, p. 217.) (Trans. p. 262.) son of the famous Prime Minister Ma'sum Beg Safavi, and a cousin of the Shah, with choice gifts such as "fiery horses from

Iraq and Turkey, delicate cloth and wonderful curiosities." The object of the embassy was to offer condolence on the death of Humayun and to congratulate Akbar. As this was an unprecedented honour, for rarely were princes of the blood sent on such political missions, Akbar ordered special arrangements to be made for the ambassador's reception and entertainment. It must have gratified the vanity of even a king like Akbar to see a Persian royal prince performing "kornish" and laying the Shah's letter on "the edge of the throne."

The letter[1] (For the letter see Jamia'i-Marasilat ff. 110. This letter has been translated by Mr. Beveridge with the exception of a few sentences, but their exception may be due to the use of a different copy. The letter is an equisite example of the Persian Insha of the XVI century, but Mr. Beveridge thinks it to be pompous, rhetorical, etc.) starts with the usual page-and-a-half of greetings, compliments and prayers. It apologises for the delay in sending the embassy, and a few sentences in praise of Shah Ghazi are inserted. But the most important part is the veiled hint about an alliance in the following words "..........and may consolidate the foundation of hereditary love and friendship, so that henceforth the revolutionary hand of time may not reach the edge thereof, nor fear of rift, or rupture enter the heart-core of any creature." Akbar's friendship was very necessary to Tahmasp at this time, for on the north of Persia a new power, fanatically Sunnite and anti-Persian, was rising under the greatest of the Shaibanids, and was also very very friendly with the Turks. The letter closes with a word of fervent hope and advice which puts Eastern diplomacy in

a nut-shell: "Do not neglect to send messages/and letters and to announce events, conditions, etc., etc., as the relation of love demands." 469

Another embassy from Persia is mentioned in the events of the ninth year[1] (Akbarnamah II, p. 357 (Trans. 358) (1565 A.D.), but nothing is known to distinguish it from the usual courtesy-missions sent from time to time, as stated above, to announce events, etc., except that the Shah recommended Sultan Muhammad of Bakhar for the office of Khan Khanan, a request which was respectfully declined. Abu'l-Fazl alleges that the Shah, being bankrupt at this time, got much gold from Shah Muhammad.

Sultan Khudabanda, the Governor of Khurasan, sent Yar Ali Beg as his envoy to Akbar.[2] (Akbarnamah III, p.8, see Elliot V, page 342 also.) The object of this embassy is nowhere given, but like Shahjahan's embassies to 'Abbas and Dara Shikoh's to Turkey, it came for a future contingency. Khudabanda, no doubt, realising his hopeless position, tried to secure Akbar's support during the coming war of succession, which then seemed inevitable owing to Peri Khanum's intrigues. In a way the mission was successful, for when the guardians of 'Abbas sent Murshid Tabrizi[3] (Akbarnamah III, p. 893 (Trans.) to seek Akbar's help against Khudabanda, Akbar not only refused help, but Abu'l-Fazl says "The just Shahinshah did not regard him as worthy of an answer, he remarked: how could he assist one who contended with his visible god (father)?

In 1591 came the first embassy from Shah 'Abbas. Unlike other missions, this was pre-eminently political in its object, for it came to seek Akbar's help against 'Abdullah Khan Uzbeg, who, profiting from the Civil War in Persia, had occupied Khurasan. The Shah was probably

aware of 'Abdullah's alliance with Akbar about Qandahar and Herat. Abdullah Khan on the other hand, getting wind of the Shah's intentions, despatched Ahmad 'Ali Ataliq who reached India in 1591, a little later than Yadgar. 'Abdullah's alliance with Akbar has been more fully discussed in another chapter, but it may be here pointed out that 'Abdullah's designs would have met with greater success had not Akbar too, like all the sovereigns of his race, dreamt of conquering Trans-Oxiana.

70 As Akbar had not as yet made any move openly against Qandahar, the Shah was encouraged to send Yadgar Sultan, who is described by Abu'l-Fazl as "old in years but of fresh wisdom." I cannot do better than quote Abu'l-Fazl at some length about Akbar's deliberation on receiving this embassy:- "The excuse-accepting Sovereign was gracious to the envoy and held a council about furthering his designs. Some were of the opinion ~~about furthering~~ that he should send one ofhis sons with an army and take Khurasan from the Uzbegs and in excellent way obtain the renown of a helper. As the ruler of Turan had sent select men, one after another, and made strong the agreement of unity, the proposition was not accepted. His Majesty said it was proper in the first place to try advice. Perhaps there would be no contest."

But in spite of these professions of sincerity and goodwill towards Persia, Akbar was all along intriguing with the Mirzas of Qandahar through Sharif Khan Ataka, the Governor of Ghaznin. The Mirzas, too, were probably aware of Akbar's arrangement with 'Abdullah and had no other alternative except to bow to the inevitable. The very absence of an Uzbeg attack after the conquest of Herat must have

convinced them about this arrangement.

Soon after the arrival of the Persian ambassader, Mehtar Ibrahim brought the petition of Rustam Mirza. Akbar showed great kindness to him and sent Mirak Jalir to bring the Mirza to the Court, and an order was issued to all governors of provinces to show the courtesy due to royalty when the Mirza came. Hakim A'inul-Mulk, Budauni's great friend, was sent almost to the border of the Empire to receive Rustam Mirza. The Khan Khanan and Zain Khan went out 12 kos to receive him. At the time of his audience Akbar conferred a mansab of 5,000 with Multan as fief and one kror (of dams?) on him.

This generous treatment encouraged Muzaffar Husain who sent his mother and eldest son Behram Mirza "to beg quarters." Akbar sent Qara Beg and Mirza Beg to bring Muzaffar to the Court. Qara was probably selected because of his old associations with the Safavi dynasty.*(The arrival of Muzaffar is fully described by the fathers of the third mission, see Akbar and Jesuits, p. 64. For the history of this branch of the Safavis see 'Alamarai-'Abbasi (Add. 16684)f. 174 "Account of the descendants of Sultan Mirza s/o Bahram Mirza." See also Budauni, II, p.402(Low.)

The occupation of Qandahar and Zamindawar, though resented by 4
the Shah, did not lead to a breach of diplomatic relations, as the Mirzas were more or less independent after Tahmasp's death and by 'Abdullah's occupation of Herat they were cut off from the rest of Persia. Although Akbar talked a great deal about helping the Shah, he never raised a finger to do anything and dismissed Yadgar Sultan after four years with empty promises and false hopes.

Zainu'l-mulk was sent with Yadgar in 1002 A.H. (1594 A.D.) with

a letter to the Shah and Abu Nasir as the custodian of presents.[1] (Akbarnamah, III., 656 (Trans. 1007) They travelled by sea via Bandar Lahiri for the obvious reason that the land-routes were in possession of the Uzbegs. In a long letter full of advice to the young Shah, Akbar dwells a great deal on his own achievements, especially the suppression of "the wicked Baluchis and other desert dwellers" who are described as "thorns in the path of Persian travellers." The delay in sending the customary embassy is attributed to the "confusion in Persia." A very interesting and artful excuse for the annexation of Qandahar is furnished in the following words:- "As the Mirzas there showed slackness in assisting the sublime dynasty (Safavis) and on the occurrence of accidents and misfortune which is the time for testing the jewels of fidelity, they did not at all show marks of concord and unanimity, nor did they repair to our sublime asylum, which is the native land of the masters of delight and ease. It therefore occurred to us that we should in the first place make over Qandahar to our people." It further says that the occupation of Qandahar was only undertaken to facilitate help to "that darling of sultannate (Abbas)" his ambassador, and adds "we have confided to him some loving expressions which he will communicate to you in private."[2] (The letter is very long and full of diplomatic vagueness, especially with regard to Akbar's relations with 'Abdulah. For the letter see Jamia'-i-Marasilat ff. 205.)

Akbar was reluctant to take sides in spite of his treaty with 'Abdullah, because Qandahar had lost most of its trade and revenue by the Uzbeg occupation of Herat and Khurasan. He was also afraid of the growing power of Turan. The Turanis could be expected to respect

the/treaty during 'Abdullah's life-time, but 'Abdul Mu'min had more than 47
once shown his hostility towards Akbar and it was difficult to trust him.

The reception of 'Zinu'l-mul is described in a very exaggerated tone by Abul-Fazl[1] (Akbarnamah, III.) and the story of the slipper seems to be a result of his imagination. In 1598 'Abbas in return sent Munuchher Beg - who later distinguished himself in the Daghistan campaign.[2] (Jalal Munajjam's history, p.249) Among the Shah's presents were 101 choice Gilan horses, 300 pieces of brocade and fifty masterpieces of Ghiyas Naqshabund.[3] (For other works of Ghiyas Naqshbund see the Persian Exhibition Catalogue. I am indebted to Sir Dennison Ross, who pointed out the historical significance of this piece of information. The Shah, in acknowledging Akbar's letter, thanked him for his advice and offer of help and spoke a great deal of the preparations he was making for attacking Khurasan and again sought Akbar's co-operation and help.[4] (For the letter see Jamia-i-Marasilat ff. 206b.)

With the death of 'Abdullah and 'Abdul Mu'min the Civil War in Turan completely altered the situation and the Shah occupied the whole of Khurasan without Akbar's help. He sent 'Ali Beg Yuzbashi to Akbar with a letter,[5] (Ibid ff. 211b.) in which he congratulated Akbar on the success of his son ('Abbas), which the Shah attributes to his (Akbar's) blessing, and friendship for his house (Safavis).

Akbar in return sent Mir Muhammad Ma'sum Bukhari with a congratulatory letter.[6] (Akbarnamah, III, p. 1251 (Trans.) The object of this mission can be gathered from the following remarks of Abu'l-Fazl:-
"The intention of the Shahinshah was to send the victorious troops under

the command of the Prince Royal to Turan and to include the ancestral territory within the Empire."

Bukhari[7] (Ibid.III, 1114; he further complains "but the Prince owing to some intrigues did not give his mind to this expedition." This was in 1598, shortly before Bukhari was sent to Persia.) returned with a letter[8] (Akbar's letter is nowhere to be found, but, as is usual in oriental correspondence, the Shah's letter recapitulates all the points to which answer is given. The Shah promised his co-operation; for the Shah's letter see Jamia-i-Marasilat ff. 209b.) from the Shah to Akbar
3 and a letter from the Shah's aunt[*] to Miriam Makani. (Apparently the lady was Zeynab Begum, a sister of Tahmasp and Mirriam Makani (Bilqis). Miriam used to send letters to her mother and sisters in Persia through the agency of the ambassadors. Some of her letters are given in Jamia-i-Marasilat (ff. 127, 127b, etc.).

A few words may be said about Akbar's attitude towards Persia before passing on to Jahangir's reign. In his youth Akbar was very much under Shia' influence and the Persian faction was very strong at his court; he consequently accepted the loss of Qandahar in a spirit of resignation. The memory of the Shah's help to Humayun was still too fresh to allow any breach of diplomatic relations. With the growth of the Turanian Empire under 'Abdullah the situation was considerably altered, especially after the treaty; but in fact there was little in common between the views of the two sovereigns to bind them together for long. In the beginning Akbar tried to dissuade 'Abdullah from attacking Persia, but in the end the situation in Persia was such that Akbar was compelled to come to an arrangement with the Turanians; besides, in this way Qandahar was

obtained without any fighting and opposition. After 'Abdullah's death Akbar reverted to his old policy of friendship with Persia, for he now saw some hope of conquering his ancestral lands in co-operation with the Shah, but Salim gave him no chance to do anything.

II

Although Jahangir, as a prince, had been on very friendly terms 64
with Shah 'Abbas,[1] (He had regular correspondence in which they referred to each other as brothers. Jamia-i-Insha, f. 212b. 'Abbas also sent Darwesh Beg Qazvini to Salim.) his reign opened with an unsuccessful attempt by the Persians to occupy Qandahar; as Jahangir himself says; "It occurred to me that the death of His Majesty Akbar and the unreasonable outbreak of Khusrau may put an edge on their designs and that they may attack Qandahar."[2] This shows that the attack was not quite unexpected. [2](Tuzk(Trans.)p.71. See also Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri, ff.30)

The Shah's ambassadors, 'Ali Beg Yuzbashi and Darwesh Beg, who left India shortly before Akbar's death, must have carried back to Persia a more or less correct estimate of Khusrau's supporters and his great popularity among the masses, and at this time a prolonged civil war seemed unavoidable. Akbar's death, bad diplomacy and Man Singh's timidity, due to the sudden change-over of the Sayyids of Bahra, however unexpectedly sealed Khusrau's fate. The Shah could not be expected to be aware of these sudden developments at the time of launching his campaign.

As the rebellion of Khusrau soon petered out, Jahangir was able to turn his attention immediately to the Frontier by sending the forces

he had brought to fight Khusrau in the Punjab on to Qandahar under Mirza Jani of Sindh; more reinforcement were rushed up under Bahadur Khan Qurbegi; while in Qandahar Shah Beg Khan bravely held out. The Persian authorities deny all knowledge and responsibility on the part of the Shah
30 for this attack, but/it is doubtful whether the Shah was as innocent as he pretended to be.[1] (In his letter to Jahangir.) He was kept informed by his agents of events in India, and although 'Alam-arai-'Abbasi is silent, Jalal Munajjim says that Isma'il Quli Khan and Hasan Khan Shamlu[2] (Mentioned by Khafi Khan. Vol. I, p. 255. Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri calls him Husain Khan.) were in constant communication with the Shah throughout the period of the siege. He mentions the arrival and despatch of many couriers;[3] (ff. 241 b. B.M.M. Add 27, 241.) it is also stated that the Shah was informed as soon as the invading army left Herat.[4] (ff.241 b. ibid) It is also interesting to note that Ismail Quli sent to the Shah the tusk of an elephant maddened by the besieged who administered alcohol and let it loose on the besiegers. The elephant, we are told, was overpowered and killed after playing havoc in the camp.) Two intercepted letters from Jahangir to Shah Beg Khan were forwarded to the Shah by Isma'il Quli Khan. These were firmans ordering Shah Beg to kill or capture Khusrau if he tried to cross the Frontier. It seems both the Shah and Jahangir were much interested in the movements of Khusrau. Jahangir was much disturbed at the possibility of his escape to a foreign land; as he says "..........he would take his own way and go for an asylum to the Uzbegs or the Persians and the contempt will fall on my government."[5] (Tuzk, p. 54.) The Persians retired on the approach of the relieving force and, like Shah Muhammad Kilati, they too gave out that they were

doing so on receiving orders from the Shah.[1] (See Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri ff. 30; for the Persian attempt on Qandahar see Alam-arai-'Abbasi, ff. 379.)

As it was the policy of both Empires not to allow Qandahar to become an eastern Baghdad, a semblance of friendship was maintained by the arrival of Husain Beg, who was sent by the Shah to apologise for the "indiscretion" of his governors. He was received by Jahangir at Lahore and Rs.10,000 were bestowed on him. The Shah also sent a firman[2] (For the Shah's firman see Jamia'ul-Insha (Or. 1599) f.85b.) to the governors of Herat and Sistan, censuring them for their conduct and reminding them of "the old friendship between the two families."

Jalal Munajjim[3] (ff.284b.) also mentions the arrival of an Indian envoy with a letter and presents for the Shah/from Shah Ghazi, the 65
new Governor of Qandahar. There is no mention of this in any Indian history, but he was probably sent, under instructions from Jahangir, to thank the Shah for recalling his troops, and to settle some boundary disputes, to which a vague reference is made.

In April 1611 came the first formal embassy from Persia[4] (Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri, ff. 60a (Or. 171). The embassy is also mentioned by Wiliam Finch, p. 161 (Early Travels).) to offer the Shah's condolence on the death of Akbar and to congratulate his "brother" Jahangir. It brought with it the usual presents of Gilan horses, carpets, silks, etc. Jahangir bestowed on the ambassador a robe of honour and Rs.30,000. The Shah also sent a letter which Jahangir says, "expressed the greatest friendship and omitted no point of regard and concord." The letter[5] (Jamia'u'l-Insha, ff. 214.) starts with apologies for delay in sending

the embassy, owing to the trouble in Sherwan. A few words of praise for the "noble" ambassador, sent to "the most exalted court," are also added to a page of compliments. The letter closes with a prayer that "the tree of hereditary friendship and assiduousness and the garden of intimacy and regard will acquire a new splendour and greenness." All controversies about Qandahar are avoided.

Yadgar Ali stayed in India for over two years, for one finds many references to him in the histories of this period. Rs.15,000 were bestowed on him in March 1612, for expenses, ~~and again a golden on him in March 1612, for expenses~~ and again a golden Mohar of 1,000 tolas at the time of the New Year feast (1022 A.H.).[1] (Many smaller rewards are mentioned in the Tuzk from time to time.) He was not dismissed till the end of 1613, when Khan 'Alam was sent with him. At the time of his departure "a horse, a jewelled sword, an aigrette with feathers, and Rs.40,000 were bestowed on him."

The Embassy of Khan 'Alam is most important in the history of Mughal diplomacy, for never before or after was a more splendidly equipped mission sent out. Ma'athiru'l-Umara supplies very detailed information as to the extensive retinue of the ambassador; about 1,200 people accompanied him, besides a bodyguard and 200 falconers and hunters. It seems the retinue was not limited to human beings alone, but a complete zoo of Indian animals formed a part of the ambassador's suite.[2] (The Ma'athiru'l-umara says, p.732.)

2 The following account from 'Alam-arai-'Abbasi is very interesting:-[3] (As I have mentioned on many occasions, the highest standard of everything was in the time of the Kings of the Shahnama.)

"The highly placed King Salim Shah, Ruler of Hindustan sent Mirza Barkhurdar, entitled Khan 'Alam, who is a great noble of that court and is styled as bhai or brother by that Shah - as his ambassador with Yadgar 'Ali Sultan Talash. He stayed for a time at Herat and came to the court this year. As His Majesty was away, driving out the Turkish armies from Azarbaijan, Qalb 'Ali Beg Shamlu was appointed to receive him and to convey him to the court. When he reached Qum, Yadgar Ali separated from him and hastened to the court in advance. The day when Khan 'Alam entered Qazvin the writer of this 'Alam-ara was present in the city, and himself beheld the great magnificence of the ambassador's train. He also made enquiries from the old men, who had beheld other embassies in the days gone by, but all were agreed that from the beginning of this divine dynasty no ambassador ever came from India or Rum with such splendid and lavish equipments; and it is doubtful whether, even in the days of the great kings of the past,[1] (British Museum Manuscript. 166, 84, 367.) such an embassy ever came from a foreign land.

"In this most auspicious reign of His Majesty all the kings of the world, both Muslim and non-Muslim, have expressed their love for him by sending ambassadors and consider this the source of their honour and their greatness.

"From the day Khan 'Alam set foot on Persian soil, he had with him 1,000 royal servants, his own private servants and 200 falconers and hunters. He also had with him mighty elephants with golden ornaments and turrets of innumerable kinds, and Indian animals such as lions,

---

جانوران ازسباع دستور جنگی وطیور مرغان سخن گو و
گاوان گجرات وگرد ونهائی مکلف وپالکیهائی مقطعه وغیره -

tigers, leopards, monkeys, deer, cows, etc.; there were also many singing birds and beautiful palkis.

"When His Majesty, after the conquest of Azarbaijan, came back to Qazvin, Khan 'Alam received a firman, summoning him to the court. When he approached the city, all the principal nobles and ministers went out to receive him and brought him to the garden of/Sa'adatabad and there lodged him in the Paradise-like Dilkusha Palace. As His Majesty was busy playing polo at the time of his arrival, he was first received on the polo-ground, where he performed kornish, and had the honour of being addressed with these precious words: 'As between me and the exalted king a strong relationship of brotherhood exists, and as His Majesty has called you a brother, it is natural that my brother's brother is also my brother.' Consequently His Majesty was always very informal with him, and he was excused from all court etiquette and ambassadorial restriction." The account goes on to give details of feasts, hunts, banquets and other functions arranged by the King and others in his honour.

Jahangir gratefully acknowledges all the special favours shown to his ambassador by the Shah in the following words:-

"Of the favours and kindness conferred by my brother on Khan 'Alam, if I were to write of them in detail, I should be accused of exaggeration."[1] (Tuzk p. 114, vol. II. The account is a very long one. See also Rauzatu's-Safaviyah, ff. 371, 372 for the account of Khan 'Alam's embassy.)

So long did Khan 'Alam stay in Persia that he may almost be regarded as the resident Indian ambassador. Khan 'Alam's embassy is also important because at the time a number of other foreign ambassadors arrived at the Persian Court especially from Russia,[2] (It is surprising that Sir

Percy Sykes describes the Russian Embassy of 1664 as the first Russian Embassy to Persia and expresses great surprise at the lack of diplomatic intercourse. In this connection the following account is interesting:- ('Alam-arai-'Abbasi, ff. 367b; Add 16684). In the accont of the year 1613 A.D. "An account of the ambassador of the Great King of Russia. In this year an ambassador, who is a great noble and a courtier of the Russian king, travelling via the Caspian, Dashti Qichaq and the port of Shirwan, reached the capital Qazvin. He was ennobled by being received into the royal presence when, on behalf of his king, he conveyed messages of love and respect through an interpreter, after which he produced a long letter which was also full of love and friendship. He was honoured by royal favours. On the day the presents of the King of Russia and Muscovis accepted. The presents included a number of shot eagles which are nowhere else to be had except Russia, and of these one was given to Khan 'Alam. After staying for some time he returned to his country via Gilan."

See also Russia in Asia by Alexis Kransee, p. 109, where the Russian embassy of 1722 is described as the first.) Turkey, Central A Asia and the States of the Deccan.

To a superficial or a biased observer, such an embassy may seem / 65
a waste of public money, but it is not possible to judge such things by the standards of today. In those days an ambassador was in the eyes of the world the personal representation of the sovereign by whom the was sent and whose reflected glory he shared. It must not be forgotten that intercourse between nations was not so frequent, and nations knew very little of each other; travelling was difficult, too, and most



dangerous, and it was therefore important for a representative of a great and powerful State to display a good deal of outward dignity and magnificence. It served the purpose of something similar to our publicity campaigns. Khan 'Alam's embassy may be regarded as a moving Exhibition of Indian Art, and other products, travelling from Herat to Isfahan, and incidentally a good advertisement for his master's power and glory throughout Persia.

It was also essential that the good manners, ready with and hospitality of an ambassador must be a credit to his country. It was wise of Jahangir to have selected a great sportsman and a talented poet like Khan 'Alam, for these were the two well-known hobbies of 'Abbas the Great.

Throughout his stay in Persia Khan 'Alam was in constant touch with Jahangir, for we find in Tuzk many references to the arrival of courtiers and messengers from him, and it is reasonable to suppose that he must have been to some degree aware of the intrigues of the representatives of the States of the Deccan. Khan 'Alam was also in great favour with the Shah, for on many occasions the Shah paid informal visits to his quarters. At the time of his departure in the beginning of 1629 A.H. the Shah came out of the city and accompanied him for some distance before "clasping him in the final embrace of honour." The Shah also bestowed 15,000*(some authorities say fifty thousand) tumans and other

---

For Sykes see Vol. II, p.212 (1930 Edition).

For relations between Persian and Russia see also "Paniatniki diplomatic Rusir Persie (St. Petersburg 1890) by N.I. Weselowsky.

priceless presents on him. It seems the Shah and the Khan became great friends, for even when the relations between Jahangir and 'Abbas became strained, the Shah used to write very affectionate letters to the Khan. Chahar Sukkhan-i-Brahmin[1] (The British Museum MS. Add.26141.) repro- 655
duces one of these letters, and it is a very interesting study of the Shah's complex character.

The Shah was also very well satisfied with the success of Yadgar 'Ali's mission to India, for he promoted him to the coveted post of Governor of Shiraz soon after his return from India.[2] (Rauzatu's Safaviyah, 299 H.)

After Yadgir Ali's departure from India, Persia was not represented at the Moghul Court for over a year until Mustafa Beg's arrival in Safar, 1024 A.H. (March 1615). The Shah sent many presents including a share for his "brother" of the presents sent by the Sultan of Turkey and a letter informing Jahangir of his success in the Georgian campaign. More interesting were the nine European hounds sent by the Shah as a special present.[3] (For the account of this embassy see Ma'athir-Jahangiri ff. 90.) A jwelled belt, Rs.20,000 and a jewelled dagger were bestowed on the ambassador and x later a Nur Jahani Mohar was also bestowed on him. After a year's stay he was dismissed with a robe of honour and Rs.20,000. A reply was also sent to the Shah.

A few months after Mustafa Beg's departure, another ambassador Muhammad Riza Beg Shamlu arrived in November 1616, with presents and a letter[5] (For the letter see Jamia-i-Marasilat ff. 217) from the Shah. An elephant was also bestowed on him, in addition to the usual reward.[4] (Tuzk, p.338 and Ma'athir 97.). He accompanied Jahangir on his march

to the South, and is frequently mentioned by Roe. He was dismissed at Mandu on the 3rd Rabi' I A.H. 1026 (April 1617).[1] (Ma'athir says 29th ff. 104.) Rs. 3,000 and a robe of honour were bestowed on him. The presents to the Shah included a portion of the presents sent by the rulers of the Deccan and a jewelled cup which Chelabi had sent from 'Iraq. Jahangir says: "The Shah had seen this cup and had said that if my brother would drink of this cup and send it to me it would be a great mark of affection. When the ambassador mentioned this, having drunk wine several times out of this cup in his presence, I ordered them to make a lid and a saucer for it and sent it along with other presents."

On his way Muhammad Riza died at Agra and Muhammad Qasim, a member of his suite, was appointed as his executor. Apart from the Persian sources, a good deal of information about this embassy has been left by Roe. His statements, as Sir William Foster rightly points out, are to be cautiously accepted. But apart from the motives of jealousy - then so conspicious among diplomats - which may have influenced Roe's description of the ceremonials, the ploitical aspect of this mission was correctly guessed by him. The Shah, as Roe points out, was very much interested in the preservation of the independence of his allies in the Deccan and looked with jealousy on "the increase of this Empire" in that direction.[2] (Embassy of Roe, p.259; where Roe also gives a long list of the Shah's presents.) It is surpirsing that the understanding between the Shah and the States of the Deccan escaped the notice of Mr. Beni Prasad, for he does not in any way connect the Deccan Rebellion of 1621 with the Shah's attack on Qandahar a few months after. The Shah, no doubt, had his designs on the trans-Indus protion of the

Mughal Empire and it was his policy to strengthen his Shi'a allies in the South, both by diplomatic and moral support.

Mr. Beni Prasad thinks that Muhammad Riza's embassy "had something to do with Qandahar";[1] (History of Jahangir p. 345, see also Iqbal-nama, p.89-90.) but we know that no reference to this question was made by the Shah till after Khan 'Alam's return to India,[2] (As stated by Jahangir in his letter to the Shah after the fall of Qandahar.) for the Shah could ill afford to open this question at a time when he was very busy in the West - as Roe points out. That Muhammad Riza left disappointed, as Roe would have us believe, is not supported by any Indian or Persian history of this period.

Jahangir had sent a cup for the Shah with Muhammad Riza, and the Shah in return sent one with Sayyid Husain who "had the good fortune of kissing the threshold" on the 27th Rabi' I 1027 A.H. (March 1618). On the cover of the cup was a priceless ruby and Jahangir says "As it was given from excessive friendship it was the cause of the increase of amity and friendship." Such cups as suitable presents from sovereigns as frequently/mentioned in Persian literature and, as the Safavis tried to imitate the kings of old, they too liked sending and receiving such presents.[3] (The Shahnama says:-

"The Monarch smiled to hear of such a custom.
And bade to set within the envoy's hand
A goblet set with jewels fit for kings
And lay a ruby on the top thereof."

Sayyid Husain was dismissed after a few days with a robe of honour and Rs.20,000. A jewelled jug made in the shape of a cock was sent to the Shah along with other presents.

Khan 'Alam returned from Persia in 1619[4] (Ma'athir, ff. 123) .

and "had the honour of kissing the threshold at the Garden of Kalanur." Jahangir's impatience is apparent from the following entry in the Tuzk: "Every day I sent one of my servants to meet him. I locded him with all kinds of favours and kindnesses, and added to his rank and dignity." The Tuzk also gives a long account of the Shah's favours to the Khan, and Jahangir says: "If I were to write of them in detail I should be accused of exaggeration." Jahangir was also much pleased with the works of Persian Art brought by the Khan, especially a famous painting of Khalil Mirza Shahrukhi, who was probably the master of Ustad Bihzad.[1] (See Arnold's Bihzad and his paintings, etc; for Bisham and Khalil see Court Painters of the Grand Moguls.) The picture represented Timur's duel with Tugtanish Khan. This precious relic was from the library of Shah Isma'il I, and by chance came into the hands of Khan 'Alam. The famous Indian painter Bisham Das, who accompanied the Khan, also brought the portraits of the Shah and his chief nobles.

Zanil Beg[1] (Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri Or. 171 ff. 140, Tuzk, 178, Iqbalnama 169.) was appointed to accompany Khan 'Alam as ambassador to India, but his departure was delayed and he did not reach Lahore till the summer of 1029 A.H. (1620 A.D.) when Jahangir was away in Kashmir. Jahangir, on learning of his arrival sent Mir Hisamuddin, son of Mir Azizuddin,[3] (Roe's friend.) to Lahore to meet Zanil, and gave orders to the Governor to bear all the expenses of the ambassador. Zanil Beg presented his credentials in November, when Jahangir returned to Lahore.
658 Among the presents from the Shah were 12 'Abbasis, 14 Gilan/horses with gilded trappings, three white falcons, five Persian mules, five fine camels, nine bows and scimitars. Jahangir bestowed on the ambassador

a superb robe of honour with a jewelled plume and dagger. The ambassador also presented two gentlemen of his suite - Wisal Beg and Haji Ni'amat, who were courtiers of the Shah.[1] (p. 186, II, Tuzk) A State banquet was given in honour of the ambassador and Rs.50,000 more were bestowed on him.

While Zanil Beg was still in India, two special ambassadors Aqa Beg and Muhibb 'Ali arrived from the Shah. Among the presents they brought was a ruby from the collection of Mirza Shah-Rukh bin Amir Timur. Ulugh Beg's name was engraved on this ruby, and the Shah also had his name engraved in a corner.[2] (بنده شده ولایت عباس) As this was a precious heirloom, it was much appreciated. It seems that Gilan horses and some ornaments and clothes sent by the Shah were delayed ~~were delayed~~ and were not presented until the 15th Rabi' I. A state banquest was also given in their honour when they produced their personal presents.[3] (For the account of this embassy see Ma'athir, ff.143).

While this mission was still in India, another embassy Haji Beg and Fazl Beg arrived with a letter and presents from the Shah. All these may be regarded as extra-ordinary envoys and Zanil Beg as the Resident ambassador. The four special envoys were dismissed in the end of Rabi I, 1030 (1621). Rs.4,000 were bestowed on Aqa Beg and Rs.30,000 each on the other three.[4] (Ma'athir, 147b.)

Scarcely had these four envoys departed, when another, Qasim Beg appeared with a letter and presents from the Shah. The Shah had asked for some birds, which were sent with the ambassador when he was dismissed in January, 1622.

While these ambassadors came and went, Zanil Beg continued to

reside at the court. There can be hardly any doubt that he was regarded as a permanent ambassador, for Jahangir granted him, in addition to the villages[1] (Throughout Jahangir's reign relations with Persia were on a permanent basis, and there was hardly a year when Persia was not represented at his Court.) already assigned to the Persian ambassador,
559 a village/near the capital with an annual revenue of Rs.16,000.[2] (Tuzk (Trans.) II, p.211.) We also find records of many other grants of money made to him from time to time. One of the royal residences near Lahore was also given to him.

No details are given in any Indian or Persian history of the causes which induced the Shah to send so many missions in close succession, but, reading between the lines of different versions, it is not very difficult to draw some conclusions. An indirect reference is to be found in the Shah's letter to the Grand Vazir of Sultan Mustafa of Turkey soon after the fall of Qandahar. There can be hardly any doubt that their apparent object was to expedite the negotiations for the return of Qandahar begun by Zanil Beg, and to obtain a final reply from Jahangir. It seems the Shah wanted, if possible, to avoid restoring to arms or, at least, to give that impression. He had, however, taken care to be prepared in case of an unfavourable reply. His intrigues with the rulers of the Deccan and the petty chiefs of Baluchistan, had made it impossible for Jahangir to take any effective measures of defence. It must have been arranged that the attack on Qandahar should be launched shortly after the commencement of hostilities in the Deccan.

While Khan 'Alam was still in Persian the Shah received Mir Khalilullah Khushnavis from Bijapur, Shaikh Muhammad Khatuni from Golconda,

and a representative from Nizam Shah of Ahmadnagar.[1] (Alam-arai 'Abbasi, ff. 368, 372). The rulers of the Deccan, it seems, were alarmed at the growing friendship between the Shah - their natural ally - and Jahangir - their old enemy; and, hearing of Khan 'Alam's reception in Persia and his influence over the Shah, immediately sent their ambassadors to Persia.

In 1030 A.H., when Zanil Beg was appointed ambassador to Jahangir, Talib Beg Aivaghali, Qasim Beg, Governor of Mazindran, and Darwesh Beg[2] (Darwesh Beg died at Shiraz and Muhammad Beg was appointed in his place). were sent to Bijapur, Golconda and Ahmadnagar respectively, as the Shah's ambassadors with the returning Deccanis.[3] (ff. 371b. 'Alam-arai-'Abbasi.) It is quite apparent that the object of these missions to Persia was to seek the Shah's help against the steady/advance of the 66
Mughal Emperor in the Deccan. It is difficult to say how the Shah could have helped them, except by creating a diversion on the N.W. Frontier of India.

Certain entries in the Tuzk leave hardly any doubt that Jahangir was kept informed of these intrigues. In the events of the 15th year is is recorded that Bahadur Khan, Governor of Qandahar, was suddenly promoted to a mansab of 5,000 personal and 4,000 horse. A few days after, the officials of the Punjab[4] (Tuzk, II, p.192.) were ordered to send two lakhs of rupees in addition to Rs.60,000 already sent to increase the provisions in the fort of Qandahar. Khan 'Alam must have also been aware of the movement of the Persian towards with the eastern Frontier. A ready excuse was furnished by the hostility of the Uzbegs, who, when the Shah was busy in Azarbaijan, suddenly fell on the fort of Murghab

and, after slaughtering its Qazilbash garrison, carried away the Commander - a Shamlu notable. On the approach of the Persian troops Nazr Muhammad apologised through his mother, who was a daughter of the holy house of the Sayyids of Mashhad and a sister of Mirza Abu Talib, whom 'Abbas held in great reverence.[1] (Nazar's mother, Zuhra Banu Begum, was a sister of Sayyid Abu Talib, a descendant of Imam 'Ali Riza and the Mutawalli of the tomb, and was married to Din Muhammad soon after the conquest of Mashhad, after whose death she returned to Mashhad where she was, on 'Abbas's order, married to Murtaza Quli Khan, the governor of Mashhad. 'Alam-arai Abbasi, ff. 374.) The apology was accepted, but the troops kept on moving eastward.

Another very interesting incident, not mentioned in any Indian history, is the arrival of the Chief of Kech and Mikran at the Persian Court. It seems shortly before the Shah launched his attack on Qandahar, the Governor of Sistan and Kirman, Malik Shamsuddin, started operations against Kech and Mikran, whose ruler was a tributary to Jahangir and had paid a visit to Agra.

In 1030 A.H., soon after Khan 'Alam's departure, Malik Mirza submitted, through the intercession of Malik Shah Husain, a noble of Sistan. He came to Isfahan to offer his submission[2] (ibid ff.374) and, after being suitably rewarded, returned to his kingdom. Later on, we are told, he cooperated in the attack on Qandahar.

It appears, from the trend of accounts in the Persian histories of this period, that the Shah hoped one day to extend the boundary of his empire to the right bank of the Indus. It is not, therefore, surprising that the hostilities in the Deccan opened soon after the

arrival of the Persian ambassadors in those parts.[1] (It is interesting to note that Nizamshah's envoy Habsh Khan was with the Shah during the siege of Qandahahr. See 'Alam-arai 'Abbasi, ff.377.) The attack on Qandahahr began only when the best troops had been already despatched to the Deccan.

Although Jahangir talked a great deal about fortifying Qandahahr, little could be done owing to the attitude of Shahjahan, and it fell after a feeble resistance.[2] (Elliot and Dawson, VII, p.64, English Factories in India, 1622 - 3 p.103.)* It seems surprising that the Shah should have sent so many embassies in close succession before launching his attack. There can be little doubt but that he wanted to avoid an open conflict, for the time being at least, and desired to bring about a peaceful settlement on both the question of Qandahar and of the Deccan; but he was also prepared for the other eventuality. His intrigues had made it impossible for Jahangir to take any effective measures of defence. Certain entries in 'Alam-arai 'Abbasi also show how deep was the Shah's interest in the intrigues of Nurjahan against Shahjahan. The Shah attributes Jahangir's reluctance to surrender Qandahar to "the people who had gained undesirable influence over his brother."[3] (In his letter to the Prime Minister of Turkey and also 'Alam-arai 'Abbasi 375.)

It is not beyond the realm of possibility that the Shah's representatives were in touch with Shahjahan, and also kept him supplied

---

* (2) It fell after a siege of 45 days.
('Alam-arai-'Abbasi gives the following date (1031)
قند ها ر از پاد شاه ما شد ff.379.

with the latest information about the Court intrigues. How far Shahjahan was involved it is difficult to say, for, if there was any such agreement between him and the Shah, it must have been secret and all reference to it would naturally be suppressed, both in Indian and Persian histories. It is only a conjecture based purely on the sequence of certain events.
2 After all, what was the importance of Qandahar to Shahjahan/when the very question of his succession was in the balance? He knew that with the loss of Qandahar, Jahangir would be busy suppressing the wave of unrest that would naturally sweep over the whole of Afghanistan and the Frontier tribes, leaving him a comparatively open field in the South. His terms conveyed in reply to Jahangir's order to proceed to Qandahar, were most offensive, and would have amounted to an abdication of power had Jahangir accepted them.[1] (Conveyed by Zainu'l A'abidin - see Qazvini, f. 103b. 'Amil-i-Salih, vol. I, pp.167-8.)

While the Shah was still at Qandahar, Shahjahan's ambassador Zahid Beg appeared with a letter and presents, an act which cannot be explained in any way; for so far Jahangir had taken no action against Shahjahan.[2] (Jamia-i-Marasilat, ff.226.) The Shah treated the ambassador very kindly and dismissed him with a reply to the letter he had brought.[3] (318b. 'Alam-ara, (Add.16684).

Another letter was sent by Shahjahan to the Shah with Khwaja Haji at the time of his retreat to the Deccan.[4] (Jami'a-i-Insha, ff. 214-16. M.I.228) This was an open appeal for help, for he says, "I too have like my forefathers turned to you for help with the hope that you will give me proper aid at the proper time." But the Shah, whatever encouragement he might have given to Zahid Beg, now advised Shahjahan

to be loyal to his father, and said: "I am sending an ambassador to Jahangir to recommend your case."

Soon after the fall of Qandahar the Shah sent two ambassadors, Haidar Beg and Wali Beg, with a letter, explaining away his occupation of Qandahar. The letter starts with the usual prayers, compliments and apologies. It recapitulates the Shah's claim to Qandahar, and reminds Jahangir of his ancestor's promise. He apologises for his action, which he attributes, not to any desire for conquest, but "it occurred to me that I would go to Qandahar to see it and to hunt."[1] (See Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri, ff.157. Compare it to Alexander's message to Darius

"I have no wish to fight against the Shah
"Mine aim is this
"To roam about the earth a little space
"And see the world for once." (Shahnamah)

The Safavis tried to imitate even the excuses given by the old kings.) The Shah closes the letter/with the hope that the cordial relations between the two empires will not be broken by such trival incidents and the assurance that he will regard Qandahar as a gift from his brother.

Jahangir sent a very dignified reply in which he blamed the Shah for breaking faith and disregarding old friendship and the special relations of brotherhood he complains that the first message about Qandahar was delivered by Zanil Beg, and that the Shah should have waited for his return before taking action. His following remarks are very interesting, for they throw some light on the conception of inter-State relations in those days:- "Clearly the methods of union and concord among the princes require that, if they make oaths of friendship to one another, there should be perfect spiritual agreement between

them. There should be no need for physical contact and still less should there be any necessity for visiting one another's countries for hunting and sight seeing."[1] (See (a) Tuzk II, (Trans.)pp.192, 230, 233).
(b) Iqbalnama, 91-12.
(c) English Factories in India, 1618-21,p.233.

Jahangir talks 6f extensive preparations, but the Shah's ambassadors must have carried back a sorrowful tale of the state of affairs in India due to the policy of Nurjahan.

The Shah now endeavoured to reconcile Jahangir and turned a cold shoulder to Shahjahan. He sent Aqa Beg in 1033 A.H. (1624 A.D.) to bring about, if possible, a resumption of diplomatic relations. A letter full of affectionate expressions, recommending Shahjahan's case for more sympathetic consideration, was brought by Aqa Beg.[1] Jahangir treated Aqa Beg with great respect and dismissed him with a robe of honour and a reward of Rs.30,000, but no ambassador was sent to Persia. (For the letter see Jami'a-i-Marasilat. 222. It seems, as soon as Jahangir heard about the fall of Qandahar he sent a very insulting letter to Shah 'Abbas. The Shah also sent an equally insulting reply but comparatively in more polite language than that of Jahangir. These letters are only to be found in Isari 'Abdullah's Dasturu'l-Insha and no mention of them is made in any Indian or Persian history. They were probably private letters.) A reply was sent to the Shah's letter with many presents, which included a jewelled club worth a lakh of rupees and a jewelled belt.

664 . After having submitted to his father, Shahjahan sent Ishaq Beg to inform the Shah that he had acted on the Shah's advice.

III

Towards the end of Jahangir's reign we have seen that relations with Persia were not maintained, although the Shah seemed anxious to renew them. After the loss of Qandahar, Jahangir had a just resentment against an old friend who had not only deprived him of a rich province, but had instigated against him the rulers of the Deccan and possibly Shahjahan. The Shah, however, kept on sending ambassadors, but no-one was sent in return from India. When 'Abbas heard of the death of Parwiz, he appointed Takta Beg for the mission of condolence, but before he could leave there arrived the news of Jahangir's death and of Shahjahan's rapid success against his rivals.

Behri Beg was now appointed on the usual mission of condolence and congratulation. But before he reached the Indian Court, Shah Abbas died at Mazandaran on the 9th January 1629, and was succeeded by his grandson Sam Mirza, son of the unfortunate Safi Mirza, who now took the title of Safi I.[1] ('Alam Arai 'Abbasi ff.416 (Add 166684).

Although Shahjahan was aware of the Shah's death, he appointed Mu'taqid Khan to receive Behri Beg, and to introduce him into the royal presence. On 5th July 1629.[2] (Qazvini ff. 176b. - 77.) Shahjahan bestowed a robe of honour and Rs.20,000[3] (Padshahnama (Lah.) I, p. 261.) on the ambassador, who produced the late Shah's letter.[4] (Majmu'u'l-Marasilat f. 229.) He was dismissed on the 13th Rabi'I 1039 (1629 A.D.) with a further reward, an elephant, a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger.

114 At this time Mir Birka was sent to Persia on the usual mission after the death of Shah 'Abbas.[1] (Page 282 Padshahnama I (Lah.) and ff. 252 of Jamia-i-Marasilat: Qazvini, ff. 183b.) Rs.50,000 were given to him for his expenses. A letter and a few presents for the Shah, which included a beautifully wrought sword and a jewelled dagger, were entrusted to his care. In the letter Shahjahan reminded the new Shah of the old friendship between the two houses. "The late Shah," he continued, "treated me in the days of my vicissitude as an uncle should treat a nephew, leaving a great burden of gratitude on my shoulders." The letter is very long and is full of all sorts of advice for the young Shah. It closes with a word of praise for Mir Birka, a request for his early dismissal, and a promise of a regular embassy in the near future.[1] (Page 282 Padshahnama I (Lah.) and ff. 252 of Jamia-i-Marasilat: Qazvini, ff. 183b.)

Shortly after his accession to the throne, Shah Safi I sent Muhammad 'Ali Beg with a long, pompous and almost meangless letter to Shahjahan. When the news of the ambassador's arrival reached the Emperor, he was absent in the Deccan to suppress the rebellion of Khan Jahan Lodi. Makamat Khan was sent to bring the envoy to the Deccan. Muhammad 'Ali was lavishly entertained on the road by Mu'taqid Khan, the Governor of Malwa and Mandu.[2] (Qazvini. f. 219, Lah. vol. I, p.361.)

On 18th Sha'ban 1040, when the ambassador arrived near Burhanpur, Afzal Khan was ordered to conduct him into the royal presence. Shahjahan was very generous and kind to the ambassador throughout his stay. He was dismissed on the 30th June 1632, soon after Mir Birka's return.[3] (Qazvini. ff. 249-50, Lah. p. 441.) At the time of his departure

Rs.25,000, in addition to Rs.60,000 already bestowed on him in Ramadan, were given to him and also a golden robe of honour, an elephant, and other presents. His two secretaries, Muhammad Taqi and Allah Quli were also suitably rewarded.[1] (Lah: 442.) Mir Muhammad 'Arab was appointed as chief bodyguard, and sent to convey him to the frontier.

In spite of these embassies Shahjahan had all the time other designs, and was actively plotting, as has been explained in his relations with Turkey, to profit by the/unrest that followed the death of Shah 'Abbas, and by the youth and inexperience of the new Shah. That Shahjahan was expecting some news of the conditions in Iraq is proved by an entry in 'Amal-i-Salih[2], (ff.358.) and consequently he did not dismiss Muhammad 'Ali Beg till after Mir Birka's return from 'Iraq.[3] (Page 422, Lah. vol. I.) Meanwhile, an incident occurred in the province of Qandahar which should have been a sufficient warning to the Persians of the Emperor's duplicity.

Sher Khan Tarin, the Persian Governor of Qoshanj, although a favourite of Shah 'Abbas, had, like all the members of his race, become rebellious after the Shah's death, and had begun to plunder travellers and caravans from Persia. 'Ali Mardan Khan, the Governor of Qandahar, warned him many a time without effect. In 1630, when Sher Khan left Qoshanj to plunder Sibi, 'Ali Mardan fell on Qoshanj and occupied it, Sher Khan after an unsuccessful attempt to recapture it, retired to Moki. He appealed through Ahmed Beg - the Governor of Multan - to Shahjahan. He was sent for by the Emperor and was granted an audience on the 13th of March, 1632 and, though no help was given to him to recover Qoshanj, he was assigned a jagir in the Punjab, not very far

from his old province.[1] (Qazvini ff. 245 b., Khuld-i-Barin, ff. 40-41. Lah. vol, 2, pp. 419-21.)

On the 25th of Shawal 1042 A.H. Khwaja Qasim, otherwise known as Safdar Khan, was sent as ambassador to Persia.[2] (Qazvini, ff. 269-73b. Lah. I, pp. 447-86. 'Amal. 550.) As Muhammad 'Ali Beg had brought presents worth three lakhs of rupees from the Shah, others worth four lakhs were now sent to the Shah in return. The majority of the presents consisted of finely wrought jewellery and other fancy articles manufactured in the royal factories of Ahmadabad, Patna, Benares and Malda. A letter drafted by Afzal Khan on behalf of Shahjahan was also sent. The letter began with the usual words of compliment and praise, and reminded the Shah of the old friendship between the two houses. A few words of praise of the manners of Muhammad 'Ali Beg[3] (محمد علی بیگ که از
اوضاع او معلوم میشود که خدمت سلاطین نموده معروف ناداب گردیده)
116 are capable of double/meaning, if interpreted in the light of the sentence that follows:- "It seems that none of the able men of the time of our late uncle - the dweller of paradise - is left to advise Your Majesty on the subject of the old friendship between this house of the Khilafat and that exalted dynasty." (Safavi). It is apparent that there were some matters which had caused friction between the two empires, for Shahjahan expresses a hope for their amicable settlement. Certain verbal messages of great importance entrusted to the ambassador are also mentioned. A lengthy account of the conquest of Ahmadnagar and the severe punishment inflicted on the States of the Deccan is given, probably to remind the Shah that in case of hostility he could not depend on his hereditary Indian allies this time. There can be little doubt

but that all these complications concerned Qandahar and Qoshanj.

From all accounts it seems that Safdar's mission was an organised espionage. Safdar was received by the Shah soon after the successful Eriwan campaign.[1] (Khuld-i-barin, ff. 90 and 107.)

In 1047 A.H., while Safdar Khan was still in Persia, Husaini was sent on a special mission to the Shah with a letter. The object of the mission is given - "As friendship demands that we should communicate to a friend the events which have led to our happiness." The letter contains an account of the rapid success of Shahjahan's arms in the Deccan and Bundhelkhand after Safdar Khan's departure. The letter concludes with the following words:-

"From the letter of H.E. Safdar Khan, we learn that he was exalted by being kindly received by that noble son (The Shah). We expect that the Khan will be there when this letter arrives, and will present it to Your Majesty in association with Husaini. A few words have also been addressed to the Khan in a firman. It is hoped that with the instructions conveyed through Husaini he will be able to reach some agreement with Your Majesty."[2] (Page 259 Lah. vol. I.)

In order to understand the real significance of Husaini's mission one has to grasp the effect on Persia's neighbours of the death of Shah 'Abbas. All of them, without exception, immediately started reviving their long deferred schemes of vengeance. On the west, Murad IV started active preparations to recover 'Iraq and/Eriwan. On the north, the Uzbegs began to dream of the recovery of Khurasan. On the east Shahjahan started his intrigues to get back Qandahar and Zamindawar. On all sides Persia was assailed by age-long enemies;[3] (For these

events see Qasis-ul-Khaqani by Wali Quli Shamlu.) but so strong was as yet the prestige of Persia that for a time none of them dared to attack her alone. They attempted to form an anti-Persian league of Sunni powers and the part of played by Shahjahan in this scheme has been referred to more fully elsewhere, but it may be here pointed out that he was flirting both with Persia and her enemies. He had two great ambitions, one, to get back Qandahar, and the other - that of all the monarchs of his race - to occupy his "ancestral lands." The attainment of one to a great extent precluded the other. His father had, through Khwaja 'Abdu'r-Rahim, already received an offer of the Uzbeg help in case of an attack on Qandahar. But, it seems, in the beginning Shahjahan wanted to get back Qandahar by diplomatic efforts and reserve his energies for the recovery of Trans-Oxiana, if possible with Persian co-operation. It was not till he was disappointed in the quarter that he openly approached her enemies with a proposal for alliance.

There is no doubt that Husaini was the bearer of some new proposals about the return of Qandahar. The Shah was at this time engaged on all sides with his enemies and Shahjahan wanted to take full advantage of this situation. But, as luck would have it, a new channel of intrigues was at this time opened by the rebellion of 'Ali Mardan Khan. The Khan was alarmed at the strictness of the new Vazir Saru Taqi, who brought to the notice of the Shah accumulated arrears of revenue. which 'Ali Mardan Khan, taking advantage of the disturbed state of affairs in Persia, had failed to send to the Royal Treasury. The Shah summoned him to the Court; but he, knowing too well the fate of so many who had preceded him there, offered excuses for his inability to attend personally,

but at the same time sent his son Muhammad 'Ali with a promise to pay 12,000 tumans yearly if left undisturbed in the government of Qandahar. The Shah rejected the offer and appointed Siyawash Qullar-aqasi as the governor of Qandahar with orders to capture 'Ali Mardan.[1] (See Ma'athi-ru'l-umara, p.186 (Trans.). 'Ali Mardan too had some supporters, especially Jani Khan Qurcinbashi, but it seems they/could not do much in face of the open hostility of the Vazir, who now submitted a long list of charges against him.[2] (Khuld-i-Barin pp. 114-116b.)

The arrival of the Governor-designate with a large army frightened[3] (Tahir Wahid says that his fears were quite imaginary. f. 236.) the Khan, for many of the Qizilbash garrison escaped and joined the Persian forces outside the fort.[4] (Lah. vol. II, p.32.) At the suggestion of Malik Mughdud[5] (Tahir Wahid says Mashhad 'Ali) - a leading Abdali chief - 'Ali Mardan sent Mughdud's brother Kamran to Ewaz Khan Qaqshal, the Commander of Ghaznin and Sa'id Khan the governor of Kabul, asking for immediate help. He also sent a letter to Shahjahan promising to surrender the fort if sufficient troops were sent to take it over. Sa'id Khan forwarded the letter to the Court by Rafi'u'llah, nephew of Qazi Khan, an official of Kabul.[6] (Page 23, Lah. vol. II.) In the meantime, 'Ali Mardan's position became more and more critical and he began sending repeated appeals to the Mughal officers near by, especially to Qulij Khan.

Ewaz Khan marched out of Ghaznin in the middle of February 1638, with about 1,000 soldiers, and on the 12th day reached Qandahar. 'Ali Mardan opened the gates to him. On the last day of the month the Khutbah was recited in Shahjahan's name. Ali Mardan sent a formal

letter of submission with nine newly-coined Muhars to the Emperor. Sa'id Khan also marched out of Kabul and, after occupying Qilat Ghilzai, which surrendered without any resistance, reached Qandahar soon after Ewaz.[1] (Sir Percy Sykes wrongly states that Qandahar was seized by the Uzbegs after the death of 'Abbas I (Page 217; 1930 Ed.). It never passed into the hands of Uzbegs after Shaibani's death. It is very strange that these remarks should have escaped M. Longworth Dames' notice.)

Though the great majority of the inhabitants of Qandahar were Sunnis and consequently pro-Mughal, there were quite a large number of Shi'as, who bitterly resented 'Ali Mardan's treachery. Muhammad Amin, the Qazi of Qandahar, had great influence on 'Ali Mardan's mind, and succeeded one night inducing the Khan to repent; a plot to kill Ewaz Khan was hatched, but Mashad Quli Khan at last convinced 'Ali Mardan
.9 of the utter futility of this plan. One lakh of rupees was sent/to 'Ali Mardan and two lakhs to Malik Maghdud, his brother, and to 'Ali Mardan's officers from the treasury of Kabul by the Emperor's order.

Elaborate preparations were made by Shahjahan for the defence of the fort under the command of Qulij Khan. Sa'id Khan in the meantime defected Siyawash's army which escaped beyond the Hilmand. Bist and Zamindawar were also subdued.[2] (Lah. vol. II, pp. 24-54; Khuld. f.116.)

In Ramadan 1048 A.H. Safdar Khan sent a letter to Shahjahan which throws a great deal of light on the Turco-Persian relations of the period and on the surrender of Baghdad by Tahmasp Khan. It also mentioned how the Christian Powers, on hearing of the Sultan's expedition to 'Iraq, had started mobilization which led to Murad's hurried retreat from Tabriz and its reoccupation by the Shah. It is interesting to note that the

Shah distributed the Turkish prisoners all over Persia, and the batch that was sent to Qandahar ultimately came to India after 'Ali Mardan's surrender, and were sent back to Turkey via Surat.[1] (Page 18, Lah. Part III, vol. II.)

Being fairly well informed of the events in Persia, Shahjahan wanted to take full advantage of the situation. It seems that intrigues with 'Ali Mardan were initiated through one Piri Agha, long before Siyawash's arrival.[2] (For these intrigues see Lah. vol. II. pp. 23-28; Bahar-i-Sukhan f. 45.)

Soon after the fall of Qandahar, Yadgar Beg arrived from Persia with a letter and presents from the Shah.[3] (Jamia'-i-Marasilat ff. 253b.-54). Mir Khan and other nobles were sent to receive him at a little distance from the capital. It seems he had left Persia before the fall of Qandahar. Rs.30,000 and a robe of honour were bestowed on him. Rs.4,000 were also given to his brother Safi Quli.[4] (Lah. II.p.99) After the fall of Qandahar Safdar Khan was dismissed with the usual honours accorded to a returning ambassador; but no-one was sent with him from Persia, for the occupation of Qandahar was regarded by the Shah as an act of war.[5] (For Safdar Khan's return see page 117, Lah.II.)

Husaini lingered on in Persia and did not return to the Indian Court till the 20th Rajab 1048 when he was/received by the Emperor in an audiance. He must have brought back some information about the movements of the Persian troops under Rustam Khan, for elaborate precautions were takn; but it seems the Shah was too busy in the west to take any effective measures for the recovery of Qandahar. The Shah, however, sent a letter to Shahjahan through Husaini in which Shahjahan was

addressed as 'uncle'. It is not improbable that both Safdar and Husaini had tried to deceive the Shah that the occupation of Qandahar was due to more to a misunderstanding than to any designs of conquest on the part of Shahjahan.[1] (See for these events Qisas, ff. 43.)

Yadgar Beg was allowed to return in 1639. In all Shahjahan bestowed on him two lakhs of rupees in cash and gifts worth Rs.50,000. In a letter sent with him, Shahjahan, though justifying the occupation of Qandahar, applogised for any misunderstanding caused by his action and advised the Shah to foreget the incident. A glass, a decanter and a tray, all set with priceless jewels, were sent to the Shah. Another robe of honour and a jewelled sword were given to the ambassador.[2] (Lah. II, p. 125.).

No further diplomatic intercourse took place between the two Empires till after the death of Shah Safi I, when Shahjahan sent Jan-nisar Khan in Safar 1058 A.H.[3] (Lah. II, pp.492-500; Tahir Wahid, 61-64; Qisas f. 54.) apparently on the customary mission of condolence and congratulation, but in reality to secure Persian neutrality for the Central Asiatic Campaign. Although Shah 'Abbas II was very young and the administration was carried on by Saru Taqi, Persia was in favourable position to intervene, owing to her friendly relations with Sultan Ibrahim. Jan-nisar was promoted in rank before his departure and a large sum was given to him for his expenses. Presents worth 3½ lakhs were sent to the Shah. A letter drafted by the famous Prime Minister, Sa'dullah Khan, was also sent. It began with a quotation from the Qur'an. It gave some lame excuses for the occupation of Qandahar and attributed the misunderstanding caused in the mind of the late Shah

to flatterers who magnified this "little incident" and thus succeeded in their mischievous designs of breaking off old-established relations between the two houses. The Shah was addressed as "beloved/grandson." A hope for the renewal of old friendship was also expressed.[1] (Letter is given both in Lah. II, and Jama'u'l-Insha ff. 122b-126. Lah. II, pp. 595-602.)

It may here be pointed out why Persia refrained from taking the part of the Usbegs when she had a strong grudge against Shahjahan. The Persian histories tell us that, in spite of a strong anti-Mughal party at the Court, the idea of helping the bigoted Sunnis of Central Asia did not very much appeal to the Persian mind in general Saru Taqi, the regent, was not sure enough of his position to indulge in the experiment of a war; and, above all the Shah was a minor and in a personal government, an aggressive foreign policy is impossible during a minority administration.

When Nazr Muhammad Khan escaped to Persia, Shahjahan immediately sent Arslan Beg, son of Firhad Beg Baluch, as an envoy extraordinary to Shah 'Abbas II, with a letter explaining the causes which led to the Central Asiatic Campaign and the conquest of Balkh; a hope for the ultimate conquest of Samarqand and Bukhara was also expressed. The letter stated that Arslan Beg was not entrusted with any other mission except in conception with that letter. There is little doubt that the real object was to dissuade the Shah from his contemplated help to Nazr. Many costly presents were also sent.

In 1648, when 'Abbas assumed authroity, he aspired to outshine his illustrious ancestor of the same name. Qandahar presented a suitable

t.

target, for the Mughal prestige was then very low owing to the disastrous Central Asiatic Campaign. He first succeeded in securing not only Turkish neutrality, but even Sultan Ibrahim's good wishes, for Shahjahan had offended the Sultan, as explained elsewhere.[1] (Qisas ff. 25-26. It is also stated that Ibrahim sent an ambassador wishing 'Abbas success in the campaign.

Before beginning his campaign the Shah dismissed the Indian ambassador, in order to maintain the secrecy of his preparations. Shah Quli Beg was sent with presents and a very polite letter to Shahjahan.[2] (Pages 25-26. Munsh'aat Tahir Wahid.) In the letter the Shah highly commended the Emperor's generosity in restoring Balkh to Nazr Muhammad and hoped for the "Similar restoration of Qandahar."
.22 There could have/been little doubt about the reply and the fort was invested on 16th December 1648.

Shahjahan was much upset, for he had been deceived by the youthfulness of the Shah. He wanted to move immediately to Kabul to supervise personally the measures of relief, but the Shah had been clever enough to force the unpopularity of a winter campaign among the Indian troops and minister, and had timed his attack accordingly. Shahjahan's minister succeeded in persuading him to move to Lahore instead of Kabul, and to send 'Ali Mardan Khan with 5,000 troops and 5 lakhs of rupees.[3] (Waris 411-13.) In Qandahar itself Daulat Khan, the Governor, was a weak old man, and his task was made more difficult by the treacherous attitude of Shadi Khan, who ultimately opened the Wais Qarn gate to the Persians, thus forcing Daulat Khan to capitulate on Feb. 11th 1649.

The Shah, as his great-grandfather had done, sent Shah Quli Khan with an apologatic letter, when Shahjahan was at Kabul supervising preparations for Aurangzeb's siege of Qandahar. The Emperor did not receive the ambassador in audience, but appointed Ja'far Khan to entertain him. He stayed for a month without managing to obtain an audience, and was dismissed with a verbal reply from Shahjahan conveyed through Ja'far. The verbal message is given by Waris[1] (ff.463-65 (Add. 6556), in the following words:- "Go and tell your master that it behoved him to have continued the hereditary friendship between the two houses. It is only the wise who can appreciate the need of a strong friend. When we heard of the Shah's attack of Qandahar, we immediately ordered the Prince (Aurangzeb) with countless forces to contest its possession, and we are in the meantime staying here (Kabul). As the Shah has retired on hearing of the approach of our army, although the Prince was eager to give him battle, he has now been forced to lay siege to the fort. It is only through God's help that we have been able to do what has already been done and by his aid we hope still more shall be achieved."

It is needless to go into the details of Aurangzeb's unsuccessful campaigns of 1449 and 1652. When he failed to take the fort, he
tried to bribe the governor Autar/Khan, who sent him a contemptuous 1
reply. A more elaborate but equally abortive attempt was made by Dara in 1653.[2] (See Latifu'l-Akhbar (a detailed account of the siege) Add. 24089.)

No diplomatic relations were maintained with Persia throughout the remainder of Shahjahan's reign. During the War of Succession

Murad opened a correspondence with the Shah, and we learn that the Shah actually mobilized some troops to Qandahar,[1] (For letters to and from Murad see Munsha'at-i-Tahir Wahid (1)ff. 6b.-7b. (2) 10b. See also Qisas ff. 135, 137b.) but so rapid was Aurangzeb's success that before the Shah could take any action, all the claimants had disappeared from the scene. Dara also wrote to the Shah after his defeat, seeking for the Shah's intervention.[2] (ibid. ff. 3b-4b.)

It was probably the attitude of hostility towards Shahjahan after the unpleasantness about Qandahar which induced Shah 'Abbas II to take such an active interest in the War of Succession.[3] Aurangzeb's rapid and decisive victories left him no alternative but to recall his troops. There can be little doubt but that, from the very outset, the Shah was not well disposed towardes Aurangzeb on account of their bigotry and Aurangzeb's inveterate hostility towards the Shah's allies and co-religionists in the Deccan.[4] (See the correspondence between the Shah and the rulers of Bijapur and Golconda. Munsha'at-i-Tahir Wahid, ff. 7-10b.) The Shah knew that Aurangzeb's success would mean the extinction of the southern kingdoms. Had the War of Succession been a little prolonged, Aurangzeb's opponents could have depended on Persian and possibly Deccani support.

It must have been with a heavy heart that 'Abbas decided to send the customary embassy of congratulation to Aurangzeb in 1070 A.H., and this attitude of indifference to a great extent explains their subsequent bitter relations. It seems that Aurangzeb, after defeating his

---

3. For War of Succession and the Shah's interest in it, see Qisas, ff. 134.

brothers and imprisoning his father, established some sort of contact with Persia through one of his friends Hakim Daud - a Persian by birth and an old friend of Zulfiqar Khan, the minister of the Shah. The object was that/Zulfiqar should induce the Shah to send the customary embassy of congratulation to Aurangzeb.[1] (Qisas ff. 142b; see also the Shah's letter to Budaq - Munsha'at-i-Tahir, ff. 67-69b.) This is, however, not mentioned by any Indian historian.

As soon as the news of the Persian ambassador's arrival on the Indian frontier reached Aurangzeb he appointed Abdal Beg as the official Mehmandar.[2] (For Budaq's appointment see Qisas ff. 142.) Orders were also sent to Tarbiat Khan, the governor of Multan, Khalilullah Khan the governor of Lahore and other officials of the Punjab for suitable entertainment of the ambassador. "According to the established custom of India" the Emperor was kept informed of the ambassador's progress towards the capital from stage to stage.[3] (Muntakhibu'l Lubab II, p. 126.) Budaq Beg, the ambassador, kept on sending swift couriers fruits which he was regularly receiving from Persia for the Emperor.[4] ('Alamgirnama, 609.)

The ambassador was suitably entertained at Multan by Tarbiat Khan who presented him with a purse of Rs.5,000.[5] (Muntakhibu'l-Lubab II, 126). In Lahore Khalilullah Khan gave a grand banquest to which the gentry of the Punjab were invited.[6] ('Alamgirnama, 610.) In addition to the purse of Rs.20,000 he gave the ambassador 400 silver trays full of specialities of the Punjab and 700 trays full of sweets, halvas and 'attar.' Many other valuable presents, such as expensive clothes, were presented to him by other officers, When the ambassador reached Sarai

Bawali, he was ordered to rest there in the garden of Shalimar and to present his credentials on the third of Shawwal.[1] (Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri, 35.) There can be little doubt but that Aurangzeb so timed the ambassador's arrival in Delhi that he should be present at the A'idgah during the A'id ul-fitar celebration, when almost the entire Muslim male population of the city would be present for prayer and festivity after the Fast of Ramadan.

Aurangzeb wanted to impress the population of Delhi which was, as Bernier tells us, distinctly pro-Dara and had demonstrated its sympathy for him by open lamentation at his fate and stoning of his
125 betrayer. He wished to/make it evident that, with the recognition of his government by Persia, the last hope of those who depended on foreign intervention had disappeared.

The Persian ambassador met the Emperor for the first time informally at the A'idgah with the populace gazing at them. A public audience was arranged in the Diwan-i-A'am for the third of Shawwal[2] (Muntakhibul-Lubab says fourth, but both the 'Alamgirnama and Ma8athir say third. The A'id festivity lasts for two days usually.) and he was conveyed through the city in a big procession, attended by Sa'if Khan Asad Khan, Multafit Khan and other nobles. Cavalry and troops lined the route he followed and the city was gaily decorated.[3] (Storia II, 51). The ambassador's bodyguard of 500 handsome horsemen was much admired by the populace.

All Indian historians are agreed that he performed kornish, but Manucci has given a cock-and-bull story about his being compelled to perform Sijdah.[4] (ibid. 147). Bernier, who was an eye-witness, says

that he saluted the Emperor in the Persian fashion and delivered the Shah's letter.[1] (Bernier says that Aurangzeb raised the letter to his head and then passed it on to a noble who broke the seal. Munsha'at-i-Tahir, ff. 32-35b.) The letter began with praise of the Prophet and his son-in-law. A hope was expressed that Aurangzeb, by gracing the throne of the House of Timur would strengthen the foundations of the Empire and wield the enemy-killing sabre. It reminded Aurangzeb of Tahmasp's help to Humayun and of the old friendship between the two houses which made it necessary for him to send an embassy and messages of congratulation. A few words about his siege of Qandahar and the misunderstanding it had caused were also added. A promise of help whenever an occasion arose was also conveyed. The letter closed with the following remarks: "Some important proposals necessary for strengthening the old friendship have been entrusted to the tongue of our ambassador, to which we hope your Majesty will give due attention."[2] (It is not difficult to see that these proposals related to the Shah's desire for the preservation of the States of the Deccan, an interference which Aurangzeb much resented and which was the main cause of the subsequent misunderstanding.) The patronising tone of the letter must have considerably displeased/Aurangzeb. A few days later Aurangzeb received another letter from the Shah.[3] (Munshi'at-i-Tahir, ff. 13. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has made a mistake (iii, 122 footnote); the smaller letter was not brought by Budaq's forerunner of 24th March 1661, but was sent to India after Budaq's departure, see Qisas ff. 143. Budaq also got a letter from the Shah where in the Shah does not seem pleased with the course of the negotiations. ff. 67-69b., ibid,)

Haveli Rustam Khan on the bank of the river was lavishly furnished at the government's expense and the ambassador was lodged there. 'Aziz Bakhshi now took over from Abdal Beg the duties of Mihmandar. On the next day the ambassador presented Nazr Quli and Ahmad Beg, two courtiers of Shah 'Abbas, and Zain-ul-a'abidin, his mulla; all of them were suitably rewarded. On the seventh of Shawwal he displayed the Shah's presents. There were 66 'arab and Gilan horses, a diamond worth sixty thousand rupees, and in all the gifts were valued at four lakhs and twenty thousand rupees. Budaq also gave many presents on his own behalf. A robe of honour and rupees sixty thousand were bestowed on him.[1] (Alamgirnama 623.)

At the time of his departure a further sum of one lakh of rupees, another robe of honour, a horse with a golden saddle and an elephant with a sliver howdah were bestowed on him In all he got rupees five lakhs in cash and many presents. Rs.3,500 were bestowed on the members of his suite.

Aurangzeb showed special favours to this ambassador as his mission had very important political significance. So far none of the Muslim sovereigns except Subhan Quli had sent the customary embassy of congratulation. Aurangzeb knew that they would not be slow to follow the Shah's example. His hopes were justified by the arrival of an ambassador from 'Abdul 'Aziz Khan, the Amir of Bukhara, while Budaq was still in India. Budaq's embassy also silenced all those who were still hoping for foreign intervention, especially the Persian faction at the Court.[2] (There was a strong Persian faction at the court. Storia ii, 52.)

Some misunderstanding seems to have arisen between Aurangzeb and the ambassador towards the end of the latter's stay in India. Aurangzeb ordered the ambassador's caravan to be stopped and the slaves he had/brought in India to be detained.[1] (Bernier attributes it to the excessive numbers of slaves he had bought, and his servants were alleged to have kidnapped, but this does not justify such stringent measure. It is possible someone aroused Aurangzeb's suspicions that Budaq was carrying a letter from Shahjahan.) Manucci also alleges that his goods were rigorously searched. None of the Indian historians mention these incidents.[2] (For Budaq's embassy see Storia ii, 47-54, 151, 153 and 232 Bernier, 146-151; where certain details not mentioned by Indian historians are supplied.)

Although Budaq Beg was dismissed after a few months, Tarbiat Khan, the ambassador-designate to Persia, did not leave till the beginning of 1073 A.H. An elephant with silver howdah, ten horses, a khilat, one complete set of golden trappings, a jewelled sword and a daggar were bestowed on him, and his rank was increased from 3,000 to 4,000 horse.[3] (Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri, 47.)

A letter drafted by Danishmand Khan (Bernier's "Agha") and gifts worth 7 lakhs of rupees were sent for the Shah. The letter was very long and began with the usual prayers, expressions of love and compliments.[4] (Bahar-i-Sukhan (Or. 178) ff. 13-24). It acknowledged the Shah's letter which was described as "the strengthener of love, friendship and union." A regret was expressed that the old friendship between the two houses was unfortunately interrupted by the unnecessary misunderstanding about Qandahar in the time of Aurangzeb's "beloved"

father.[1] (ibid. ff. 16b.) It gave at some length Aurangzeb's achievements and the shortcomings of his brothers, especially Dara; and tried to impress on the Shah that the treatment meted out to them was not unjust.[2] (ibid. ff. 19b.) Of Tarbiat's mission it said: "As Budaq Beg, so well acquainted with etiquette, was allowed to return, it was decided that someone who is initiated in manners should be sent to Your Majesty as a result of mutual love. The distinguished Tarbiat Khan, who is an old servant of this house and is acquainted with this Court of Khilafat, was selected for this honourable duty. Many messages of love and union have been entursted to his tongue."

To the Shah's boastful offer of help Aurangzeb wrote that he only needed God's help who had favoured him so far with many victories.

128 It is difficult to find what is the source of information of Sir Jadunath Sarkar and other historians regarding the cold reception accorded to Tarbiat Khan in Persia.[3] (See Storia II, p.128, in the connection.) Qisas tells us that as soon as the Shah heard of Tarbiat's arrival through Mansur Khan, the governor of Qandahar, firmans were immediately despatched to all governors on the ambassador's route to convey him to the Court with due honours as the rules of hospitality demanded.

Mirza Hashim - son of Mirza Muhammad Husain - one of the royal chamberlains, was appointed the official Mihmandar and has sent to Yazd to receive the ambassador. The ambassador reached Isfahan on the 4th Shawwal 1075 and, after resting for a few days, was granted an audience. He then presented Aurangzeb's letter. Many awards were bestowed on him by the Shah and a great banquest was given in his honour.

This was followed by an archery competition. Qisas also gives some odes and chronograms composed by the Court poet, Mirza Mas'ud[1], and others.

(۲) خدا یگان جهان شاه نوجوان عباس   که پرتو کرم از نجاص و علم رسید
همای او ز سعادت ز کوکب مسعود   بزیر سایه شاه فلک مقام رسید
به نزد والی هندوستان بخدمت شاه   پس از دعا و ثنا کورنش سلام رسید
شمسد که ایلچی اورنگ زیب را احوال   رفیعی تبرست او با انتظام رسید
بلی ستاره توفیق در ره نمائی خضر   با آستان شاه اوردی اهتمام رسید
زعقل سال دورش طلب نمودم گفت   رسول هند پا بوس شاه بکام رسید

After some time the attitude of the Shah towards Aurangzeb and his ambassador changed. It may here be pointed out that the Shah probably wanted from Aurangzeb a promise not to annex the kingdom of Bijapur and Golconda but that Aurangzeb resented this interference in his sphere of influence, for the States were considered by the Mughals as their vassals: on the other hand, the Shahs always regarded them as thier natural allies to whom they were bound by the ties of religion and culture. The letters of the rulers of the Deccan[2] (Munshi'at-i-Tahir Wahid, ff. 7b, 39, 41.) leave little doubt that they had approached the Shah to save them from threatened extinction. That the Shah contemplated attacking India is further proved by his correspondence and[3] (Munshi'at-i-Tahir, ff. 15) treaty[4] (ibid. ff. 17b.) with 'Abdul Aziz Khan, for it was/ necessary to secure Turanian neutrality for the success of his schemes.

Tarbiat Khan was consequently dismissed with an almost insulting letter which blamed Aurangzeb for the anarchy and rebellion prevailing throughout India.[5] (Faiyaz-ul-qawanin 389-98.) A great portion of the letter was devoted to "Shiva's" activities owing to Aurangzeb's weakness and incompetency; a reference was made to the murder of his brothers

and the imprisonment of his father. This was followed by a religious discussion on Aurangzeb's misbeliefs. He further reminded Aurangzeb that his (the Shah's) House had always been the refuge of the kings of the time, a proof of which existed in the help rendered to Humayun, Wali Muhammad and Nazar Muhammad, and now it was his desire to help Aurangzeb by marching with a great army to extinguish the flames of rebellion and misrule in India.

Tarbiat returned in May 1668. Aurangzeb was muchdispleased with him and did not allow him to enter his presence for some time. He attributed the failure of this mission to Tarbiat's tactlessness[1] (Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri p. 57.) and deprived him of his rank.[2] (Manucci describes many scenes of Aurangzeb's impotent rage (ii, 146), so does John Camphell, another eye-witness.) As the Shah had threatened an invasion of India and Tarbiat had brought back news of the movement of the Persian troops,[3] (Storia II, p.147) Prince Mu'azzam and Raja Jaswan Singh were sent with a large army to the frontier.[4] (Ma'athir, p. 57.) The Shah, however, died on the 22nd August and, the danger of an invasion having blown over, the Prince and the Raja were recalled.[5] ('Alamgirnama, 984.). Tarbiat Khan, too, was restored to his position and on the death of Khan Dauran was appointed Governor of Orissa.[6] (Alamgirnama, 1050.)

Aurangzeb's intrigues against the Safavi dynasty have been referred to more fully in his relations with Central Asia. It was largely through his intrigues that the Ghilzais became a perpetual source of trouble to Persia and ultimately overthrew the Safavi dynasty.[7] (Manucci tells us that Gurghun Khan reported to the Shah that it was impossible to crust the Ghilzais unless the Mughal territory were attacked.

Vol. IV, p. 271. The same di ficulty is experienced by the British in dealing with some nomadic tribes in N.W.F.P. and Baluchistan.)

In 1688 Aurangzeb tried to get back Qandahar by means of intrigues and helped Ahmad Khan, the rebel governor of Herat, in besieging it but the attempt failed.[1] (For this attempt see Futuhat-i-Alamgiri. ff.133b. For Aurangzeb's correspondence with Hasaan Khan, another governor of Herat, see Bahar-i-Sukhan.)

After Tarbiat Khan's return no further diplomatic intercourse with Persia is on record till after the death of Aurangzeb, when Shah Husain sent Mir Murtaza to Farakhsiyar in 1124 A.H.[2] (Muntakhabu'l-Lubab II, p. 271. It also says that no ambassador came from Persia after Budaq Beg till 1124 A.H.)

-------ooOoo-------

MUGHAL RELATIONS WITH CENTRAL ASIA

I

81 The ambition to possess Trans-Oxiana burned fiercely in the hearts of the Mughal Emperors. So keen was their interest in those delectable and "wonderfully beautiful" regions that to recover them Babar went to the length of "sacrificing" his religious scruples.[1] (Baburnamah (Trans.) I. p.81.) Humayuh, though he attempted to regain them during his father's life-time, had later on other misfortunes to reckon with. Akbar was prevented from moving by the great power of 'Abd Allah Khan.[2] (An Empire Builder of the XVI Century, p.102.) Jahangir was too lazy to leave the charm of Kashmir and Lahore for a hazardous march through the passes of Hindu-kush. Shahjahan, in spite of advice to the contrary by such able ministers as Sa'd Allah Khan and Ali Mardan, attempted to subdue.

> "The Tartars of Farghana, from the banks
> Of the Jaxartes, men with scant beards
> And close-set skull-caps, and those wilder hordes
> Who roam o'er Kepchak and the northern wastes"

with the tropps of India, but only succeeded in justifying the name of those mountain ranges by sacrificing thousands of Rajputs.[3] (Muhammad Yusuf b. Khwajah Baqa tells us that in 1061 A.H. when he was accompanying the embassy to India as waqai'-nigar he noticed all along the route piles of human bones.)

Aurangzeb, profiting by his own experience as the commander-in-chief of his father's forces, had neither part nor lot in Central Asia, and had, like the British Indian Government of today, "not a Central Asiatic but an Indian policy."[4] (Sir Stafford Northcote in the House of Commons.)

As this essay deals only with the diplomatic relations of the Empire, the details of Shahjahan's fruitless expedition are omitted except in so far as they affect his foreign policy.

In the beginning of Akbar's reign diplomatic intercourse was not very frequent with 'Abd Allah Khan, because between India and Turan were the kingdoms of Balkh under Nazr Muhammad, Badakhshan under Mirza Sulayman, and Kabul under Mirza Hakim. With the absorption of the first two by 'Abd Allah and the latter by Akbar, the frontiers of the two Empires became contiguous, and intercourse more frequent.

In 1572 arrived the first embassy from 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbeg with a letter and presents. The letter is nowhere to be found, but Abū'l-Fadl as usual gives in his own style the following purport: "........ to recall ancient relations and renew friendship in order that with the help of such divine glory, he might act vigorously against other princes of Turan. Another object was that he might repose in peace and be without apprehension of the strokes of world-conquering armies."[1] (Akbarnamah II. 534.) He further says: "For greater security and success he sent presents to Munim Khan Khanan and Mirza Koka Khan A'zam in order that they may exert themselves to lay the foundation of friendship." It is also stated that the ambassador was well received, and returned after a time with presents from Akbar for his sovereign. But in the account of the second embassay from Turan, Abu'l-Fadl in referring to this embassy says: "As His Majesty had thoughts of conquerring ~~to this embassy~~ his ancestral lands, no one was sent along with him (Hajji Iltamish) in order that the correspondence might be severed."[2] (Akbarnamah III, 296.)

Another embassy arrived in 1577 A.D. Abu'l-Fadl as usual says that the first ambassador, Jahji Iltamish, being much impressed with the power of the Empire, induced 'Abd Allah Khan to send another embassy to "the world-conquering Khadev". The purport of 'Abd Allah's letter was that Akbar "should lead an expedition from India to Persia in order that they may with united efforts release 'Iraq, Khurasan and Fars from the 'innovators'."

So rapidly had 'Abd Allah's power increased that it was now impossible for Akbar to ignore him and he was compelled to send Mirza Fawlad on a return embassy with a reply to 'Abd Allah's letter.[1] (Elliot refers to this letter and says it is in Abu'l-Fadl's Insha, daftar IV. Mrs. Beveridge has rashly assumed that "there is no such daftar". Haidar Bilgrami in his Sawanih-i-Akbari (OR 1665) mentions daftar IV, but this daftar is not to be found in the Insha as it is. Probably Elliot came across it in some private collection in India.) Akbar wrote, says Abu'l-Fadl, that "the dynasty in question (Safavis) was specially connected with the family of the Prophet and on this ground he could not regard the difference in law and religion as sufficient ground for conquest. He was also withheld from such enterprise by old and valued friendship. As in 'Abd Allah Khan's letter the ruler of Iran had not been mentioned with honour, His Majesty conveyed to him valuable admonition in reproof thereof."

Akbar was not actuated by any friendly feeling towards Persia, but in reality he was much alarmed at the growth of 'Abd Allah Khan's power and territory and wished x to avoid, as far as possible, being
3 a party to his ambitious designs, Moreover, a strong Persia was essential

to keep the restless Uzbegs in their proper place.

The object of Mirza Fawlad's mission must have been to get first-hand information about the real power of 'Abd Allah and to explore the possibility of an alliance in case the dissolution of Persia was inevitable. As there could be no other basis for such alliance except sectarian bigotry, Mirza Fawlad was a proper instrument for working on the religious susceptibilities of the Turanians.[1] (Mirza was a notorious hater of the Shi'ahs. He was subsequently put to death for murdering Mullah Ahmad of Tatta, a noted Shiah, and one of the authors of Ta'rikh-i-Alfi.)

In 1557, Mirza Sulayman was compelled to leave the kingdom of Badakhsan by the intrigues of his grandson, Mirza Shah-Rukh and his crafty mother, Khanum, and came to India.[2] (Akbarnamah III (text), 157, Trans. 222.) Akbar and his principal nobles went out of the city to receive him and he was conveyed to the royal palace with great pomp and show. The great respect shown to him was probably due to his association with Babar and Humayun.[3] (For Mirza's relations with Humayun see Badauni I (Trans.), 580.)

The object of Mirza's visit was to seek Akbar's help against his grandson, but Akbar was too clever to back a loser.

While Mirza was still in India, Khanum, alarmed by his intrigues, sent Rahim Beg and Mirza 'Ashiq to negotiate a marriage and a political alliance with Akbar. Akbar, it seems, was not averse to such proposals, for Abu'l-Fadl says, "He made the envoys joyful and then dismissed them."[4] (Akbarnamah III, 296; text 211.) 'Abd Allah Khan and 'Abdi Khwajah were sent "to soothe and encourage Badakhshanis". Badakhshan,

apart from its local dissensions and rivalries, was in imminent danger of being attacked by 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbeg and, as Akbar was not sure of his brother's attitude, probably Sikinah Begam was sent to Kabul to give advice to Hakim Mirza on this subject.[1] (Mirza Hakim attacked the Punjab in 1581 but retreated. Akbar conquered Kabul but made it over to the sister of Hakim, who subsequently let the Mirza assume the control after Akbar's retreat. There was possibly some sort of understanding between him and 'Abd Allah for there was an exchange of embassies at that time between them. See 'Abdullahnamah.)

The envoys sent to Badakhshan returned in 1579 with Mir Nizam from Mirza Shah-Rukh and brought Khanum's daughter.

Meanwhile Mirza Sulayman, disappointed by Akbar's duplicity, left like all Turanians ostensibly for the hajj but in reality to gain foreign help. Sometime later he appeared in Persia to seek the help of Shah Ismail II. The Shah gave him some "Iraqi" troops, but as Isma'il died shortly after, Mirza was deserted by the Persians, Shah-Rukh had in the meantime appealed for help to Akbar, who actually organised an army under Yusuf Khan, Sa'id Khan and Raja Bhagwandas in 1580. Sulayman
4 on being deserted by the Persian appealed to 'Abd Allah/Khan Uzbeg and Mirza Hakim.[2] ('Abdullahnamah, ff. 484b. It is also stated that Mirza Hakim sent Maulana Nur ad-Din to 'Abd Allah and 'Abd Allah sent Mehr 'Ali Kokaltash, in connection with Badakhshan.) This frightened Shah-Rukh who suddenly came to terms with his grandfather.

There is some confusion between Badauni and Nizam ad-Din about this embassy. Lowe translates a somewhat ambiguous passage[3] (Badauni II (text) 270, Akbar's letter sent with Khwajah Khatib and Mirza Fawlad is given

in Majma' al-Insha' (Or 1702). ff. 198b. It does not contain the above couplet.) thus: "In this year an ambassador came from Trans-Oxiana with a letter containing assurances of friendship from 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbeg; the Emperor sent Mirza Fawlad Birlas with Khwajah Khatib, who was a native of Bukhara, to accompany him with presents and gifts. The seal of the letter was as follows:

"When we are friends with one another
Sea and land are free from confusion and evil."

Badauni puts it in the events of the 24th year (987 A.H.) Nizam-ad-Din, however, in the events of the 25th year (998 A.H.) says: "Khwajah Khatib and Mirza Fawlad were sent to Trans-Oxiana this year." Although Nizam ad-Din's dates are to be accepted with some caution, in this case he seems to be correct. The ambiguity is removed if the passage is translated thus: "In this year 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbeg's loving letter came from Trans-Oxiana. He sent (back) Mirza Fawlad with Khwajah Khatib who was a native of Bukhara, with presents....."

The Akbarnamah tells us that Mirza Fawlad was first sent to Turan in 985 A.H. Very likely he returned in 987, and was again sent in 988, as Akbar was mobilizing to help Shah-Rukh and probably wanted to avoid a conflict with 'Abd Allah. It was therefore necessary to come to some sort of provisional understanding with regard to Badakhshan and Qandahar and the object of Mirza Fawlad's mission, as previously stated, was "to soothe the Turanians". But it was difficult to soothe 'Abd Allah who was dreaming of a vast Central Asiatic Empire and hoped to revive the past glories of those regions. Not only had he designs on Badakhshan and Balkh but he was watching for a favourable opportunity to descent on Khurasan, and to retrieve the terrible disaster that befell Shaybani.

As Qandahar had been a source of perpetual differences between the Mughals and the Safavis, so was Khurasan a veritable bone of contention between Persia and the power that ruled Mawara'n-Nahr. The friction was due considerably to the absence of effective political boundaries between Khurasan and Mawara'n-Nahr. One of the oldest Arabic geographers, Ibn Khurdadbih, tells us that a portion of the left bank is included in the boundary of Mawara'n-Nahr.[1] (Al-Masalik wa'l-Mamalik, text and translation by M. Barbier de Meynard, J. Asiatique, 1865. I have also discussed the question with Prof. Gibb, and he too is of the same opinion. See also Balkhi's remarks in this connection.) Under the /Samanids, Ghaznavids and Timurids both the provinces were one wilayat. 'Abd Allah Khan consequently considered it as a rightful appendage to his ancestral kingdom, and its occupation by Isma'il as mere usurpation.[2] (See Rawdat as-Safawiyyah (OR 3388), pp. 73-74, for correspondence between Isma'il and Shaybani on the subject of Khurasan. An abstract of the correspondence is given on ff. 177a-178b of 'Ali b. Nurah's History of Isma'il (OR 3245). During Tahmasp's life-time it was difficult to conquer it; after his death for some time 'Abd Allah's hands were full with the subjugation of Balkh and Badakhshan; he was also afraid of a combination between Akbar and Persia.

In 1585 'Abd Allah Khan, urged on by his more ambitious son, 'Abd al-Mu'min, suddenly fell on Badakhshan, and both the Mirzas fled to India.[3] (Col. Malleson says: "...Akbar heard of the death of his brother at Kabul and that the frontier province of Badakhshan had been overrun by the Uzbegs, who also threatened Kabul" (p.131). Shah-Rukh, subsequently, married Akbar's daughter.

Next year this success was followed by the annexation of Balkh, whose ruler, Nazr Muhammad, with his three sons, Qambar, Shabi and Baqi, sought refuge at Akbar's court, where suitable mansabs were bestowed on them. Akbar, it seems, had for some time been contemplating intervention in Central Asiatic affairs.[1] (It was at this time that his brother died and Kabul passed directly under his control (1585 A.D.) He had no hope of conquering his "ancestral lands" during 'Abd Allah's life-time, but he wanted to save Badakhshan if possible, and thus maintain a sort of buffer State, more or less under his influence. A road fit for wheeled traffic was consequently constructed through the Khyber Pass.[2] (Akbarnamah III, 735) This alarmed 'Abd Allah and he occupied Badakhshan before Akbar could move. 'Abd Allah, foreseeing Akbar's intervention, stirred up trouble among the tribesmen of the North-Western Frontier, through his agent Jalala, the religious fanatic of the tribal country.[3] (He was the youngest son of Bayazid, the leader of the Roshaniyyah. For Roshaniyyah, see Dr. Lyden's account, Asiatic Researches II, 363.) This Jalala paid several visits to 'Abd Allah Khan and 'Abd al-Mu'min and was probably in their pay. So serious was the situation for a time that Akbar himself had to move to Attock to supervise the operations.[4] (Col. Malleson attributes this to the fear of Uzbeg invasion.) It was during these operations that he lost one of his best friends, Raja Birbar.[5] (Akbarnamah III, 375. Commonly known as Birbal and known to English readers through S. Warman's translation of his witty sayings, jokes, etc.) For a time even communication with Kabul was interrupted, until Raja Man Singh gained a victory over the tribes. Even after the victory of 'Ali Masjid "brave officers" like Mubarak Mohani,

86 Ghazi Khan, etc., had to be sent/to conduct the caravan from Trans-Oxiana in which were 'Abd Allah's ambassador and Nazr Muhammad, the ex-ruler of Balkh, Akbar was at that time afraid of an attack by 'Abd Allah Khan on Kabul and possibly on India[1]; (Elphinstone says: "It was probably apprehension of further progress of that formidable neighbour ('Abd Allah) which chiefly induced him (Akbar) to go in person to Cabul in 1586" (vol.II, 283). I think the fort of Attock, too, was erected in fear of Turanian invasion, for it was about this time that its building was undertaken seriously, though the proposal was made a few years earlier when Akbar pursued Mirza Hakim to Kabul.) 'Abd Allah Khan too, on his side, was afraid of Akbar's mobilization, and wanted to form an alliance against Persia instead of fighting Akbar.

In 1586 A.D., while Akbar was at Attock, 'Abd Allah Khan sent Mir Quraysh with presents and a letter. He also sent Habib - the master pigeon-fancier, who was famous throughout Turan among pigeon sportsmen - with the choicest pigeons of that country. After some hesitation and delay, Akbar received the Mir on the first of March. Abu'l-Fadl says: "A princely festival was arranged in the Diwan-Khanah which had been recently erected, and the ambassador was exalted by prostrating himself at the holy threshold. He produced before His Majesty the rarities of that country." 'Abd Allah's letter is given in Majma'al-Insha'.[2] (Ff. 199b. (OR 1702) 'Abd Allah justifies his occupation of Badakhshan and says that "Shah-Rukh attacked his country when he was busy fighting in the Dasht-i-Qipchaq".) Akbar in his reply also discusses all the salient features, and from these it is not difficult to judge the object of this mission. Abu'l-Fadl, however, gives the following reason:

"When the world-conquering standards reached the banks of the Indus and the design of marching to Zabalistan became conspicuous, and the Khyber Pass, which used to be traversed with difficulty by horses and camels, had been made passable for wheels, and a bridge had been made over the Indus, there was a tremendous agitation in Turan. For fear of the rapid march of the World's Lord the gates of Balkh were usually kept closed. 'Abd Allah Khan, the ruler of Turan, had the enlightenment and discernment to have recourse to deprecatory behaviour and tendered supplications. He sent Mir Quraysh who belonged to a noble Sayyid family..."

'Abd Allah Khan no doubt was alarmed, but Abul'l-Fadl has rather exaggerated the Khan's fears.[1] (Whenever there was a movement of Mughal troops in Afghanistan or if the Emperor came to Kabul, the rulers of Trans-Oxiana were alarmed. Imam Quli strongly protested when Shahjahan came to Kabul in 1629. See Tadhkirah-i-Muqim Khan. ff.98.) The real fact was that the opportunity for which he had been long waiting was near at hand and he could not afford to have his lifelong dream of conquering Khurasan shattered by an attack from India. Mir Quraysh was consequently sent to gain Akbar's co-operation or, failing that, neutrality, by offering him Zamin-dawar and Qandahar.

The Turanian ambassador was dismissed with great honours. 87
Hakim Hamam was sent "to impress on 'Abd Allah Khan the choice qualities of the Emperor. He was also to study the mind of high and low and report thereon." It seems that while inwardly Akbar had received 'Abd Allah's proposals with favour, outwardly he tried to impress the Khan with his friendly feelings towards Persia. The door of negotiation for an alliance was thrown open by Hakim Hamam's mission. Mir Sadr Jahan

was also sent to offer belated condolence on the death of Iskandar Khan. The delay is explained by Abu'l-Fadl: "But as at times there were thoughts in His Majesty's mind of conquering that country no one was sent."

Akbar sent a long letter,[1] (This letter, the author of Majma' al-Insha tells us, was drafted by Hakim Abu'l-Fath, but the compiler of Abu'l-Fadl's letters, thinking it to be one of his composition, included in the Mukatabat-i-'Alami (cf. Majma', ff.202), in which, with regard to 'Abd Allah's threat to cut off relations owing to the change in Akbar's religion, he says: "With regard to the intimation about stopping letters and intercourse, though in the eyes of reason silence is better than speech in such matters, yet we shall overlook this." To impress 'Abd Allah with his religious zeal, a desire is expressed to conquer the Portuguese "infidels" who "have lifted up the head of turbulence and have stretched out the hand of oppression upon the pilgrims to holy places - may God increase their (the pilgrims') glory".

The following hypocritical remarks are very interesting in the light of the events that followed: "But as we have heard that some officers of Persia were disloyal to their sovereign and had cast away the firm hand of fidelity, which had been the means of their exaltation, and had committed various improprieties, it passed into our mind that we should appoint to that region one of our sons - from whose forehead there streamed auspicious rays and in whose horoscope were the lights of justice - and not undertake any work until that was disposed of. At present, when the Sultan of Turkey, disregarding the treatise and agreements made by his father and grandfather, has looked to the ostensibly

feeble condition of Persia and has several times sent his troops there, we shall, passing over the circumstances of deviation and looking to the relationship of that dynasty to the Prophet, proceed thither and help them. Assuredly ancient things must be borne in mind, especially at this time, when we hear the ruler of Persia has dispatched able men of that country with presents and with prayers for help. It befits our sublime spirit that we should fling out the reins of interest towards 'Iraq and Khurasan." An appeal is also made for 'Abd Allah's co-operation in this work, and hope is expressed of their meeting in Persia. About Hakim Hamam he says: "... in your noble audience, it will be as if we and you were conversing directly."[1] (For the reception of Hakim Hamam in Turan, see 'Abdullahnamah II, ff. 485, where it is stated that a cordial reception was accorded to him; full details of negotiations are also given.)

In fact, the threat of help to Persia was a direct challenge to 88
'Abd Allah, and the words attributed to the Sultan were probably indirectly applicable to the Khan as well. This challenge was a sort of sanction behind the negotiations. There is no doubt that an agreement was concluded with the Khan on the division of Persia, for Abu'l-Fadl in his letter to the Hakim says: "....His Majesty has turned his attention to the conquest of Turan, but is prepared to change the course of his conquest towards the islands of Farang if a satisfactory treaty is forthcoming(from 'Abd Allah) without any further delay."

That the agreement was reached is proved by the following remarks in connection with Hakim Hamam's return: "He convened the praises and supplications of the ruler of Turan, who represented that the conquests of Hirat and Khurasan were due to the blessed influence of the World's Lord."

Lord

In his second letter Akbar accuses 'Abd Allah of breaking the treaty. Obviously, one of the cluases was that the Turanians should desist from their intrigues among the tribesmen of the North-West Frontier of India. 'Abd al-Mu'min in his letter to Murad III also refers to this alliance in the following words: "The Padshah of India has strengthened the bonds of friendship with this magnificent House by sending Hakim Hamam, one of his chosen courtiers, with presents, gifts and a loving letter, and has formed an alliance."[1] (This letter was sent with Muhammad Quli shortly after the conquest of Khurasan. The letter is reproduced in Tadhkirah-i-Muqim Khan, ff. 55.) All doubts are removed by the following passage from Imam Quli's letter to Jahangir: "As between the noble kings - dwellers of Paradise - 'Abd Allah Khan and Akbar Padshah, a treaty and alliance for the conquest of the road to holy places had x occurred, - due to this religious alliance and unity between the sovereigns a great portion of 'Iraq and Persia and the whole of Khurasan were conquered...."[2] (No better example of history repeating itself is to be found, if this alliance is compared with the broad principles of the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907. Akbar, though he entered into an alliance with the Uzbegs, was at the same time, like England, vitally interested in the preservation of Persia as an independent State.

It seems 'Abd al-Mu'min was not satisfied with the terms of this alliance, for they restricted his aggressive activities both in Persia and on the Indian border. He also suspected Akbar of having financed Muhammad Zaman's rebellion in Badakhshan and so once more he started his old game among the tribesmen. He also dispatched an envoy to Akbar

with a letter. The Akbarnamah records his accidental drowning in the Jhelum. It is also stated that, though the Khan's letter perished with the envoy, rumours said that it contained a demand for Badakhshani Aymaqs who had come to the Court.[1] (Akbarnamah III, p. 871. Sayyid Muhammad Sadiq 'Ali in his commentary of the Nawal Kishore edition of the Akbarnamah says: "Akbar had the envoy drowned because the letter asked for Akbar's daughter in marriage." It is difficult to guess the source of his information, for no contemporary history makes this allegation. The Iqbalnamah only says that 'Abd al-Mu'min's letter contained improper things. Some historians regard it as an act of insolence on his part to have sent an embassy, but such embassies were quite common in those days. Akbar himself received two embassies from heirs-apparent during their fathers' life-time before this incident, It is, however, interesting to speculate whether such envoy's person too was convered by the diplomatic immunity so greatly observed in the East in those days. Another interesting point raised by this embassy was the question of refugees being extraditable. ADD 27257 gives an extract from Akbar's letter to 'AbdAllah where Akbar says that his Court is the "Asylum of the World" and that he "could not surrender any one who took shelter there".)

With Hakim Hamam and Sadr Jahan, 'Abd Allah Khan sent Ahmad 'Ali 89
Ataliq with a letter and presents. 'Abd Allah must have been aware of Yadgar Sultan's departure and the object of his mission; consequently we find someone permanently representing him in India, for , when in 1594 Ahmad 'Ali died,[2] (Akbarnamah III, 881.) his place was soon taken by Maulvi Husayn, who also brought a letter from the Khan apologizing

for 'Abd al-Mu'min's impoper demand for Aymaqs.[1] (Ibid., p.885.) The Maulvi, too, died in Lahore next year when Akbar was away in Kashmir.[2] (Badauni (II, 387) tells us that there was a great epidemic in Lahore at that time.) The Tadhkirah-i-Muqim Khani informs us that at this time 'Abd al-Mu'min was openly plotting against his father and probably 'Abd Allah's policy of friendship with Akbar was not acceptable to the young hot-head. His old friend Jalalah paid him another visit and, though Abu'l-Fadl tells us that he was not well received, yet his return was followed by a great tribal rising which was not limited to the Roshaniyyah. An expedition sent to Tirah via the Khyber under Quli Khan being unsuccessful, another under Husayn Beg 'Umayri had to be sent via Bangash. Zayn Khan Koka too was sent to Kabul with a large force.[3] (Akbarnamah III, 1050-52.)

Khwajah Ashraf Naqshbandi was sent to Turan to protest against 'Abd al-Mu'min's activities. Shaykh Husayn of Lucknow accompanied the mission as the custodian of presents. It seems 'Abd Allah Khan in his letter had suggested that the Hindu-kush should be the boundary between the two Empires. He must have also accused Akbar of breaking the treaty, for Akbar in his reply says:[4] (The reply is given on p. 4 of Makatabat-i-Alami and is also reproduced in Akbarnamah. Von Noer refers to 'Abd Allah's letter, but he does not seem aware of the political alliance. See Mrs. Beveridge's Life of Akbar II, 227.) "It would have been fitting for us to begin the exposition of the ways of peace, and the demonstration of the rights of friendship, seeing that since the commencement of the dawn of this auspicious morning the whole of our righteous practice has been - contrary to the ways of former rulers - to follow

the path of amity and association with the various nations of mankind. As Your Majesty has entered on this subject, it is proper that at this 90
time you should give your attention to instances of such conduct. For example, when at this time the ruler of Persia, relying upon former ties sent Yadgar Sultan Shamlu to us to ask for help, we did not consent." He goes on about Shah-Rukh's unsuccessful request for a fief in Kabul and Qandahar, the rebellion in Badakhshan and other examples of his good faith. About the treaty he says: "As the keeping of one's word is indispensable to a great mind, we desired that when the treaty of peace had once been made it should be preserved."

It seems 'Abd Allah Khan had protested against the mobilization of troops and the continued presence of Akbar near the Indus, for Akbar says: "Although the climate and hunting of this country are favourable to us, we have determined to proceed to Agra so that the mouths of the praters should be shut."

Akbar also expresses regret on the death of 'Abd Allah's ambassadors, and the accidental drowning of 'Abd al-Mu'min's messenger.

About the treaty obligation he says: "The glorious compact and agreement which has been ratified by skilful ambassadors one after another is fixed on our mind."

About 'Abd Allah's projects for further conquest he says: "What you have written about certain expeditions having been postponed till the arrival of Ahmad 'Ali has been understood. "The letter closes thus: "May every desire of your heart be accomplished. Every assistance due from us will be rendered."[1] (As 'Abd Allah's letter is nowhere forthcoming it is difficult to speculate exactly what these expeditions were, unless

one accepts Imam Quli's version. Probably 'Abd Allah contemplated conquering the whole of northern Persia, right up to the Turkish frontier, thus "clearing the way to the holy places". That Akbar was against the total extinction of the Safavi dynasty is abundantly clear from his attitude all through the negotiations with 'Abd Allah.)

Before Khwajah Ashraf's return both 'Abd Allah Khan and 'Abd al-Mu'min died, and Akbar immediately reverted to his old policy of friendship towards Persia, for he had hopes of profiting from the civil war in Trans-Oxiana. He sent help to Badi az-Zaman,[1] (He was a son of Fakhr an-Nisa' Begam, half-sister of Akbar.) but he had been captured and executed before the help could reach him. This act was the cause of unfriendly relations with Baqi Khan and later, when one Ahdi Khwajah, who had instigated an unsuccessful attempt on Baqi's life, fled to India, he was well received.[2] (Akbarnamah III, 1247.)

It may be here pointed out that Akbar's attitude towards Central Asia was similar to that of the British until the beginning of the Great War, for, in spite of his dreams of conquering the "ancestral lands," he all along followed an Indian and not a Central Asiatic policy.

II

91 Like all the sovereigns of his House, even the happy-go-lucky Jahangir was not immune from the wild dreams of conquering his "ancestral lands".[2] (See Tuzk (trans.) I, 26, where he expresses a hope of one day acquiring these regions.) He was, however, too lazy to follow an ambitious foreign policy anywhere. Even the usual relations with the rulers of Mawaran-Nahr were not maintained, due probably to his desire be more closely allied to Persia.

Before coming directly to Jahangir's relations with Turan, a few words may be said about the dynasty that was then ruling there.

In 1567, Yar Muhammad Khan, driven from his khanate by the advancing Russians, sought refuge in Trans-Oxiana. Iskandar Khan gave his daughter Zuhrah Khanum in marriage to Yar Muhammad's son, Jan Khan,[1] (Lahori I, 218, wrongly states that she was married to Yar Muhammad. See also Howorth II, Div. II, 744, Sykes refers to this in a most confusing manner. He states that Jan was offered the throne of Bukhara after the murder of Iskandar Khan. Iskandar died after a long reign and was succeeded by his son 'Abd Allah Khan, the greatest of the Shaybanis, who in his turn was succeeded by his son 'Abd al-Mu'min. It was after 'Abd al-Mu'min's death that the throne was offered to Jan. Sykes does not seem to be aware of the existence of 'Abd-al-Mu'min and 'Abd Allah (cf. Sykes, ed. 1930, II, 210.) who later on distinguished himself in the wars of his brother-in-law, 'Abd Allah, and was after the conquest of Khurasan made the governor of Nishapur. With the death of 'Abd al-Mu'min, the last of the Shaybanis, the unfortunate land of Trans-Oxiana was once more plunged into a terrible civil war.

'Abbas, who had been biding his time, occupied the whole of Khurasan and ever since then Mashhad - that spiritual home of the 'Abbasids, and the resting-place of the patron saint of Khurasan - has been the new Mecca of Shi'ahs. The Amirs of Bukhara, in their helplessness, approached Jan Muhammad Khan to accept the throne, but he declined on the ground that though he was a descendant of Chingiz, yet his son Din Muhammad, being related to the Shaybani family, had a better right.[2] (Tadhkirah-i-Muqim Khani, ff. 63.) Din Muhammad,

a few days[1] (For Din Muhammad's death see Bahr al-Asrar, ff.55.) after his selection, fell in a battle with 'Abbas near Hirat, and his two sons Imam Quli and Nazr, made their escape, thanks to the pluck of Nazr's mother. Din Muhammad was succeeded by his brother Baqi Muhammad, who frustrated 'Abbas's designs to subjugate Trans-Oxiana by inflicting a terrible defeat on the Persians, from whence the Shah barely escaped with his life. After Baqi's death, the Shah's attempt to interfere once more in the affair of Turan, by helping Wali Muhammad, was also unsuccessful.[2] (See Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri, ff. 53, and ff. 96 (I.O.L. 575.)

92 In 1611 A.D., Imam Quli ascended the throne of Bukhara, and in a fit of generosity assigned the wilayat of Balkh to his younger brother Nazr Muhammad - an act which he lived to regret. For the first ten years of his reign, there is no record of any diplomatic intercourse with the Court of Lahore. In the beginning of 1621, the mother of Imam Quli Khan sent to Nur Jahan a letter "containing expressions of good-will and dues of acquaintanceship". Next year Nur Jahan in return sent Khwajah Nasir, an old and trusted servant of Jahangir, with a letter and some "rarities" of India.[3] (Tuzk II, 209).

This exchange of civilities led to further relations and shortly after Imam Quli sent a regular embassy with a letter and presents. It is not difficult to see why Khwajah Nasir was sent in 1621, for at this time relations with Persia were becoming more strained, and Jahangir could only look to the Turanians for support in case of an open war. It is not improbable that Imam Quli too, on his side, sent the first ambassador to warn Jahangir against the impending attack and to pave

the way for further negotiations.[1] (It has been expalined in Jahangir's relations with Persia that Trans-Oxiana too was at this time threatened with a Persian invasion due to the complications following the Uzbeg attack on the fort of Marghab a few years earlier. See 'Alam Ara-i-Abbasi.) No mention of these events is to be found directly in any Indian history: they all try to make out that Jahangir was quite unprepared and blame the Shah for his treacherous attack on an old friend. There can be little doubt that the Shah was carrying on vigorous intrigues in the Deccan and on the North-West Frontier while Jahangir was at the same time taking some precautionary measures; but the internal state of the Empire was, owing to Nur Jahan's intrigues, so bad that not much could be accomplished.[2] (It was about this time the Pietro delle Valle wrote: "....his whole Empire is governed at this day by her." This opinion is supported by Kamgar Husayn, who says: "At this time her power and influence exceeded even the bounds of imagination and possibility.") Jahangir, possibly in one of his drinking bouts, was inadvertent enough to enquire from the ambassador about Imam Quli's beloved, which enraged the Turanian, who replied that his master was free from earthly desires and looked down on wordly passions. At this Jahangir is said to have smiled, and remarked ironically: "What has your master seen of the world that it has filled him with such disgust?"[3] (Cf. Tadhkirah-i-Muqim Khani, ff. 92.)

Shortly after this incident Jahangir sent Mir Sayyid Birkah on a return embassy to Turan.[4] (Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri, ff. 143b.) The object of this embassy is nowhere stated, but apparently it was now Jahangir's desire to form an alliance against Persia; but Imam Quli was so offended

with the incident referred to above that for six months he did not grant an audience to the Mir. After this he was only received informally during hunting. The Khan bestowed all the presents on his servant Rahim -
93 much to the surprise/of the ambassador. Next morning the Mir presented a jewelled sword on behalf of Jahangir as a personal present for the Khan. When Imam Quli tried to draw the sword it could only be drawn from its scabbard with great difficulty; at this he remarked to the ambassador: "Your swords are very difficult to draw."[1] (This was an allusion to Jahangir's project to conquer Trans-Oxiana (cf. Tadhkirah, ff. 96.) "Only this one," replied the ambassador, "because it is a sword of peace, had it been a sword of war it would have leapt out from the scabbard." This fine repartee pleased the Khan, and he became very friendly with the ambassador. Mir Birkah was dismissed after a few years with great honour and Khawajah 'Abd ar-Rahim[2] (Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri, ff. 207.) and Khwajah Hasan were sent to India by the Khan as his ambassadors.[3] ('Abd ar-Rahim was the chief ambassador and his brother Hasan was his assistant. They were descendants of Imam Ja'far as-Sadiq and sons of the murshid of 'Abd Allah Khan, who was the head of the Naqshbandis.) The ambassadors were received with great pomp and show by Jahangir, probably to impress Aqa Muhammad, the Persian ambassador. Taz Khan received them at Kabul and gave a magnificent entertainment. Bahadur Khan Uzbeg[4] (He was the governor of Mashhad under 'Abd al-Mu'min, but after his death came to India.) was sent with a robe of honour and a jewelled dagger. The Iqbalnamah says: "His Majesty thought the coming of Khwajah 'Abd ar-Rahim auspicious and ordered all the great nobles and ministers to go out and receive him. Up to now no one so exalted and holy as the

Khwajah had come to India."[1] (P.612.) Jahangir exempted the Khawajah from all the court etiquette for ambassadors.[2] (Lahori tells us (I, 193) that "whenever he had an audience with the King, he was ordered to sit near the throne and thus became more distinguished than the greatest nobles." Rs.30,000 in cash, another robe of honour and an elephant with a silver howdah were bestowed on him. Nur Jahan sent him fourteen silver trays full of delicacies and sweets in vessels of gold which were all bestowed on him.

The ambassadors brought a letter[3] (Ma'athir-i-Jahangiri, ff.207) in which the Khan says a great deal about the noble and esteemed descent of his ambassadors. It also alluded to the old anti-Persian treaty in the following words:[8] (A portion of this letter has already been quoted.) "As between the noble kings - dwellers of Paradise - 'Abd Allah Khan and Akbar Padshah, a treaty and an alliance for the conquest of the road to the holy places had occurred, due to this religious alliance and unity, a great portion of 'Iraq and Persia, and the whole of Khurasan, was conquered and up to this day the swords of the soldiers of Turan are stained with the blood of the braves of Iran. After his ('Abd Allah's) death my noble father tasted the cup of martyrdom in the course of a battle near Hirat, leaving an obligation on me to avenge his death by invading Persia. Now that Your Majesty has also decided to follow/this path of Sunnah and the precedent of your illustrious 94
father, this noble task can be best accomplished together."

The ambassadors were in India during the distrubance which followed Jahangir's death, and witnessed the coronations of Shahryar, Bulaqi and Shahjahan. 'Abd ar-Rahim died in India and Shahjahan ordered

Afdal Khan to arrange a befitting funeral. So great was the Khwajah's influence with Jahangir, that on his recommendation the offence of 'Abd Allah Khan Firoz Jang was pardoned.[1] (Qazvini, ff. 150: Lahori I, 193.)

Jahangir's death and Nazr Muhammad's indiscretion altered the situation considerably, and Shahjahan did not adopt an offensive policy against Persia.[2] (Cf. Lahori I, 215-16; Qazvini, ff. 150-51.) though he attempted to form an alliance with the Turks and Turanians a little later.

III

188 Shahjahan was the most ambitious sovereign of his House: and it was natural that the wild dreams of conquering the "ancestral lands" should reach their culminating point in his time.

His reign opened with an unfortunate incident which for the first time openly disturbed the amicable relations existing between the two countries ever since the treaty of friendship between 'Abd Allah and Akbar. Nazr Muhammad, the restless and ambitious brother of the peaceful and generous Imam Quli, unable to satiate his lust for conquest in the North, decided to violate his frontiers established by the above treaty, and to descend on the province of Kabul.[3] (See Bahr al-Asrar, f. 200.) He had over-estimated the disturbances following Jahangir's death and a recent set-back of the Mughal troops on the North-West Frontier of India. He had also expected an easy conquest, but as it came to pass he had been reckoning without his host. At the very outset, his plans were upset by the gallant resistance of the border outpost of Zuhak under Khanjar Khan, Unable to reduce it,

he decided on storming Kabul before the arrival of reinforcements; but here too the besieged offered a stubborn resistance, and on the approach of a relieving force under Lashkar Khan, Nazr Muhammad beat a hasty retreat. More reinforcements were subsequently sent under Mahabat Khan.[1] (Lahori I, 206.)

No mention of this attack is made by Muhammad Yusuf in the Tadhkirah, but the Indian histories supply full details, and mention the arrival of a swift courier with an apologetic letter from Imam Quli.[2] (Bahr al-Asrar, however, mention it on ff. 202, 203). Shahjahan, not being quite secure, took advantage of this olive branch, and in 1628 sent Hakim Haziq and Sadr Jahan with presents worth 1½ lakh of rupees. He also dismissed Sadiq and Hasan, the son and brother of the late Khwajah 'Abd ar-Rahim. It is possible he was looking forward to a day when conditions in Persia would permit an attempt for the reconquest of Qandahar. The letter sent with Hakim consequently expressed a hope for "a lasting alliance on religious grounds".[3] (The letter is given by Qazvini, f. 150. For this embassy see Lahori I, 318.)

Although he adopted a concilatory attitude towards Imam Quli, 189
yet he supplemented it with a hostile demonstration against Nazr Muhammad at the frontier outpost of Barniyan in May, 1629, for he was not certain of the peaceful intentions of the Khan, whom he suspected of intriguing among the tribesmen of the North-West Frontier through the governor of Kalmard.

Next year, Hakim Haziq returned with a friendly letter from the Khan, but Sadr Jahan was left behind. Nazr Muhammad also sent an ambassador with presents worth Rs.50,000 in addition to many horses

camels, mules, etc. Shahjahan bestowed Rs.30,000 on Waqqas, and Rs.10,000 on his son Mu'min. The object of the embassy was to apologise for the Khan's attack on Kabul.

In February, 1633, Shahjahan in return sent Tarbiyaat Khan to Balkh.[1] (Qazvini, f. 365; Lahori I, 465-72.) A letter written by Afdal Khan on behalf of Shahjahan was also sent. It acknowledged the apologies sent through Hajji Waqqas, but a regret was expressed that such an unwarranted attack should have taken place on a friendly Sunni Power. Satisfaction was also expressed at the Khan's offers of help for punishing the Qizilbashes. An assurance was conveyed that action would be taken when the appointed hour arrived. The letter was full of religious bias, which Shahjahan was trying to exploit in support of his designs against Persia.

In 1635 A.C., Tarbiyyat Khan returned with an ambassador from Nazr Muhammad who brought presents worth Rs. 70,000 and the usual supply of horses, mules and camels. He was dismissed after a while with a robe of honour and Rs.20,000. Rewards were also bestowed on his many relations. Shahjahan in return sent Mirak Husayn with presents worth 1¼ lakhs of rupees, a letter and an elephant with a silver howdah to Nazr Muhammad.[2] (Lahori I, part II, 104.)

Shortly after 'Ali Mardan's surrender of Qandahar, Shahjahan sent Prince Shuja' and Khan Durran with a large body of troops to Kabul as a precaution against Shah Safi's expected attack. In 1639, the Emperor himself moved to Kabul. These movements frightened Nazr Muhammad, and he appealed to Imam Quli for help. Indian histories are emphatic that the Emperor had at this time no hostile intentions against

Balkh, but the Central Asian historians do not agree with this,and allege that Shahjahan, overestimating the differences between Imam Quli and Nazr considered it an opportune moment to launch his attack on Balkh.[1] (Tadhkirah-i-Muqim Khani, f. 97.) Imam Quli, however, forgave his brother and came to Balkh and from there sent Hajji Mansur[2] (Ibid., f.98.) to Shahjahan with a letter in which he said: "Although friendly relations have existed between the two Houses from time immemorial, yet, if the Shah, disregarding old friendship, has decided on an attack, we and our brother are aprepared to receive him." It is further stated that, frightened by/this united front, Shahjahan repented of his rashness and 190
wrote back: "I had only come to Kabul for hunting but if my brothers do not like it I will go back."[3] (Tadhkirah (f.99) says that Shahjahan went back to India and Imam Quli, after staying at Balkh for a while, returned to Bukhara. A long description of Imam Quli's reception at Balkh is also given.) Lahori, however, says: "Nazr Muhammad, frightened at the movement of Imperial troops towards Afghanistan, had recourse to deprecatory behaviour and sent Hajji Mansur with presents"... etc. etc.[4] (Lahori,II, 152-55.)

Whatever secret intention Shahjahan might have had, he now adopted a conciliatory attitude, due, probably, more to Shah Safi's expected attack on Qandahar - which then seemed very imminent - than to a combination of forces by Nazr and Imam Quli.[5] (This is supported by Russian historians who say: "...mais Schah-Djehan qui pendant son sejour dans cette ville (Kabul) avait vu de pres les diffcultes de cette expeditinn, y avait deja renonce: il repondit a l'ambassadeur qu'il n'avait jamais songe a la guerre, qu'il n'etait venu que pour inspecter ses provinces et qu'il allait bientot retourner aux Indes." Supplement

a L'Histore General des Huns, des Turcs et des Mongols, St. Petersboug, 1824, p. 42.)

Next year, Nazr Muhammad sent an ambassador to Dara Shikoh with presents and a letter. The ambassador was also received by Shahjahan.[1] (Lahori II, 192.) The object of this embassy is nowhere given, but it seems that Nazr Muhammad was again intriguing against his brother, who had now almost lost his eyesight, and Nazr probably wanted to gain Shahjahan's support in case of civil war. Imam Quli also sent Uzbeg Khwajah with a letter and gifts. Probably the object of this embassy was to counteract Nazr's intrigues.

Mir Birkah, that old and versatile diplomat, was once again sent to Turan, apparently on a return embassy, but in fact to study the real state of affairs. Now that Qandahar had been recovered, there was no longer any need to be friendly with the Turanians: on the contrary the designs to conquer Mawara'n-Nahr were put into active operation. Imam Quli must have seen through Shahjahan's double game, for, in spite of Mir's diplomacy, he abdicated in favour of Nazr Muhammad[2] (The Tadhkirah tells us that he was present in the great mosque of Bukhara when the khutbah was for the first time read in Nazr's name (31st October, 1641) and witnessed the great lamentation of his people.) and on the 3rd of November, 1641, left for Mecca to avoid civil war. The people of Bukhara, however, did not accept Nazr Muhammad's rule in the same spirit of resignation as his brother had done. There was open rebellion under Baqiyuz, the ataliq of Nazr's son, Bahram Sultan. Abd al-'Aziz was sent to oppose him, but he also joined the rebels.

Shahjahan watched these events with malicious pleasure, and started mobilising troops under the command of Asalat Khan. In the summer of 1645 he suddenly captured Kahmard on the advice - it is alleged - 191
of Khalil Beg, the commander of the fort of Ghoiband. Further operations were delayed, however, owing to a tribal rising in the Khyber which was promptly put down by Raja Jaswant Singh.[1] (Lahori II, 456.) Meanwhile, in Trans-Oxiana 'Abd al-'Aziz gradually got the upper-hand against his father, who, finding himself in a desperate position, had no other alternative except to approach his old enemy Shahjahan for help.[2] (Khuld-i-Barin, ff. 183; Tahir Wahid, ff. 56b; Qisas-i-Khaqani, ff. 52b.) Shahjahan received Nazr Muhammad's envoy with great show of friendship, and in course of an audience on the 11th January, 1646, granted the Khan's request for help by sending a favourable reply to his "petition".[3] (Lahori II, p. 530-532.)

Prince Murad was appointed to the chief command, but in fact the real arrangements were in the hand of 'Ali Mardan Khan. Other tried officers like Quli Khan, Raja Jai Singh, Debi Singh, Najabat Khan, Rustam Khan, Rajrup, etc., were all ordered to the front with all their forces.[4] (A complete account of this campaign is given by Muhammad Salih Kambuh (OR 1683). It has been the chief source of my information for the following pages.) Success was very rapid in the beginning, and fort after fort fell, till Asalat Khan, on the 22nd June, occupied Qundus, thus reviving the memories of Babar, whose soul must have felt elated at the success of his descendant at a place around which the tangled skein of his fortune was so often torn and rewoven. At this time, Shahjahan sent a letter to Prince Murad congratulating

him on the success of his campaign, andinstructing him to be very careful in his treatment of Nazr Muhammad. A sentence about Balkh is capable of double meaning; in the light of subsequent events, it contained a veiled hint about the necessity of occupying that city.

When Murad and 'Ali Mardan reached the vicinity of Balkh, they sent Ishaq Beg with Shahjahan's letter to Nazr Muhammad. Ishaq, it is alleged, noticed certain unusual measures of defence in the fort, and advised the Prince to occupy it forthwith. Next morning Murad moved his camp just outside the city walls. Nazr Muhammad, much alarmed, sent Churchak Beg with a letter; but Murad insisted on his personal appearance. Nazr Muhammad again excused himself, and sent his two sons Bhharam and Subhan Quli. Murad, still unsatisfied, occupied the city and once again sent an invitation to Nazr Muhammad to come out of the citadel and to meet him. Nazr, suspecting a trap, escaped with his two sons Subhan and Qutlaq, while Bahram and 'Abd ar-Rahim were detained by the Mughals. Murad made a state entry into the city on the 7th July, 1646. He appointed his favourite, Shukr Allah 'Arab, as the governor of Balkh.

Nazr Muhammad, hotly pursued by Bahadur and Asalat, succeeded in making good his escape to Persia where he, like his uncle, was well

192 received by the Shah.[1] / (The historian of Central Asia describes in rather exaggerated tones his reception at Isfahan Muhammad Yusuf and Muhammad b. Amir Wali tell us that the Shah went out several miles disguised as a soldier and walked with the Khan's horse unrecognised for a considerable distance. Nazr Muhammad, on being quietly informed

about the identity of his attendant, jumped down and embraced the Shah. This particular incident is not mentioned by Persian historians, but they are all agreed that the Shah went out of the city several leagues to receive the Khan and that the whole city was gaily decorated in his honour.

Shahjahan, on learning of Nazr's flight to Persia, sent Jan-Nisar Khan to dissuade the Shah from intervening in Central Asiatic affairs.[1] (See Tahir Wahid, f. 53b.) He also sent Mir 'Aziz with an apologetic letter to Nazr Muhammad. Shahjahan attributed the misunderstanding to the inexperience and youth of the Prince, and assured the Khan of his friendly intentions. He further promised to send Nazr Muhammad's family anywhere he wished. Nothing definite was, however, promised to him with regard to his lost territory.[2] (Lahori II, 572-77.)

Meanwhile Murad was replaced by Aurangzeb, for governing those lawless regions was infinitely more difficult than conquering them. This task was rendered almost impossible by the mutual jealousies of the various commanders, and the inveterate hostility of the people to the new regime, due greatly to 'Ali Mardan's unpopularity and the influx of the "infidels". These difficulties became greater and greater every day in spite of a severe defeat inflicted on 'Abd al-'Aziz by Aurangzeb. Nazr Muhammad appeared on the scene too with some "Iraqi" troops lent by the Shah, and soon opened negotiations with Aurangzeb. Peace having been concluded,[3] (Nazr Muhammad excused himself and sent his sons to bid farewell to the prince.) Aurangzeb started his ill-fated homeward march in October, 1647. Thus ended the wild dream of the Mughal Emperors. It brought nothing but disaster, famine and death both to the Indians [illegible] war to India the following [illegible]

the Indians and the Turanians. Muhammad Yusuf b. Khwajah Baqa, on his way to India the following summer, saw strewn all along the route animal and human bones; at places there were piles of them.[1] (This is supported by the Russian historians who say: "Les armees du Djeghatay repasserent, donc la Koutel ou les soldats furent exposes a des geless si violentes qu'ils perirent presque tous de faim et de froid, apres avour brule jusqua leurs armes pour se chauffer." Historie General des Huns, des Turcs et des Mongols, p. 46.)

It was not only the loss of men and money which Shahjahan suffered in this expedition, but the Empire lost all its prestige in Middle Eastern affairs, The sword of Damocles hanging over Turan ever since the days of Akbar in the shape of an Indian invasion, with all the vast resources of a great Empire, now vanished for ever, Shah 'Abbas was quick to seize this opportunity, and fell on Qandahar before
193 the Indians/had time to recover.

These events were followed by a wave of unrest throughout Afghanistan and the North-West Frontier of India, which could never be quite stamped out and was one of the cause of the disruption of the Empire. After the Balkh campaign and the loss of Qandahar, the power of the Mughal Emperors began dwindling in Afghanistan, and the tribes got a long lost opportunity to foment dissension and intrigues for their own ends by playing off the Mughal administration against the Persian and vice versa. The Abdalis having allied themselves with the Persians, the Ghilzays had to accept Hobson's choice and fell back on the Mughals for support against their age-long enemies. This perpetual warfare encouraged the inherently lawless tendencies

of the population, and broke the thin web of administration so ably cast by Akbar over that delectable country. Afghanistan gradually slipped into anarchy and confusion which even the strong hand of Aurangzeb could not control. This unrest also dried up the healthy stream of young Afghan recruits to the Mughal army, which henceforth could make drafts only on the Muslim man-power of Northern India, which was then not very considerable.[1] (See Edwardes's Mughal Rule in India, p. 131, footnotes.)

Truly speaking, the decline of the Mughal Empire begins from this time. History furnishes another example, but, unlike Napoleon's, the Mughal Empire continued its chequered career for another two hundred years because it was built on deeper and firmer foundations.

This disastrous expedition had other far-reaching results as well. It left behind in Central Asia terrible famine and plague which devastated the country and weakened the power of the Astarkhani dynasty. It also ruined the trade and commerce which had for generations flowed into India from Bukhara and Samarqand. The disturbed state of affairs in Afghanistan especially through the passes of the North-West Frontier of India dealt it a further blow. The occupation of Qandahar by the Persians and the virtual state of war that followed it throughout Aurangzeb's reign, except for a brief space of a few years diverted the trade and commerce from the Bolan Pass[2] (The trade through the Bolan Pass was very considerable. See Sarkar's Mughal Administration, p. 67.) to the ports of Southern India, considerably to the advantage of the English and with great loss to the Mughal treasury, a loss which could not be stopped owing to the absence of a navy.

IV

SUBHAN QULI - the ruler of Balkh - was the first among foreign kings to recognise Aurangzeb, for Aurangzeb had left a lasting impression of the mettle on the Turanians during Shahjahan's ill-fated expedition
104 to those regions. Moreover. Subhan Quli had no finer scruples, for his brother Qasim Sultan had met the same fate as Dara and Murad.

In the beginning of 1071 A.H. Khalil Beg, a servant of Subhan Quli, brought 27 horses and a present of fruits from Balkh for Aurangzeb, and was suitably rewarded. The first regular embassy arrived two months later; Ibrahim Beg presented his credentials on the 26th Jamada'th-thani. He was introduced into the royal presence by Mir Baqi and produced the Khan's letter and presents. The presents consisted of horses, camels, mules, gems and "Central Asiatic rarities". Rs.15,000, a robe of honour and a jewelled belt were bestowed upon the ambassador.[1] (Alamgirnamah, pp. 605-8.) A house was also assigned to him and one of the royal servants was appointed to look after his comforts. The ambassador, however, like many of his predecessors, died after a few days, in spite of the best medical attendance provided by Aurangzeb.[2] (See Bernier, pp. 116-23; Storia II, 34-44.) In the month of Rajab his companions were dismissed with a reward of Rs.8,000. The object of this mission was to congratulate Aurangzeb on his ascent to the throne of India.

While the Persian minister was still in India, the Governor of Kabul sent to court news of the arrival of an ambassador from 'Abd al-Aziz Khan of Bukhara.[3] (Ma'athir-i-Alamgiri, p. 37) Khwaja Ahmad

was a son of Mahmud, a famous Khwajah of Trans-Oxiana. (It was usually very pious men who were sent on political missions from Turan.) Aurangzeb appointed Musahib Beg as the mihmandar. After resting for a few days he presented his credentials on the 4th Rabi ath-thani while the jashn-i-shamsi was in progress. Sayf Khan and Kabad Khan introduced him into the royal presence in the Diwan-i-Am. He submitted the Khan's letter and presents, which included a beautiful ruby valued at Rs.40,000; a robe of honour, a jewelled dagger and Rs.8,000 were bestowed upon him. A grand banquet was given in his honour on the river-bank. At a private interview in the royal bath-house he conveyed the oral message from the Khan. In all he received Rs.120,000. He died at Lahore on his return journey.[1] (See Alamgirnamah, pp. 637, 644, 662-465, 673, 738.)

Mustafa Khan was sent by Aurangzeb to 'Abd al-'Aziz and Subhan Quli. A robe of honour, a horse with golden trappings, a sword with jewelled fittings, a plume and a female elephant were bestowed upon the ambassador-designate. Presents worth Rs.140,000 for 'Abd al-'Aziz and Rs.100,000 for Subhan Quli were sent.[2] (Ibid., p. 863; Ma'athir, p.48.) In his letter to 'Abd al-'Aziz Khan, Aurangzeb acknowledged the latter's embassy and expressed hopes for the continuation of old friendship. He also justified his/acts on religious grounds.[3] (For the 195
text of the letter see Bahar-i-Sukhan, f. 24b.)

In a longer letter sent by Fadil Khan, Aurangzeb was styled "the king of both the spiritual and temporal worlds, and the true successor of the Khulafa-i-rashidin".[4] (Ibid., ff. 29-34b.)

In this letter to Subhan Quli, Aurangzeb also justified his harsh treatment of his brother, who, he says, "in spite of my best efforts would not come to the path of sincerity and brotherhood". It also dwelt on Raja Jaswant Singh's part in the War of Succession. A few words about Dara's attempt to escape to the Persian frontier and seek the Qizilbash's help are also given.[1] (Ibid., f. 28b.)

While Mustafa was in Turan, Muhammad Sa'id came from 'Abd al-'Aziz with fresh fruits, etc.,

Mustafa Khan returned in 1077 A.H., and his services were recognised by Aurangzeb, who raised his mansab by 500 horse, and also bestowed on him a robe of honour, a horse and the governorship of Bakhar.[2] (Alamgirnamah, pp. 1035-49.)

'Abd al-Aziz Khan sent another ambassador with presents and a letter. He was introduced into the royal presence by Tarbiyyat Khan, who had now been restored to his former rank and position. Rs.35,000, a robe of honour and a jewelled sword were bestowed upon the ambassador.[3] (Ibidl, p. 1049.)

Subhan Quli, too, sent an ambassador, Khushhal Beg, with a letter and presents at that time. Both the ambassadors were dismissed on the 25th Jumada'l-awwal, during the ceremony of weighing. In all Rs.34,000 were given to 'Abd al-'Aziz Khan's ambassador and Rs.18,000 to the members of the latter's suite. A similar sum was bestowed on Khushhal, though the members of his suite got only Rs.4,000; but his son Yar Muhammad got a golden muhar of 50 tolas.

In 1080 arrived another ambassador from Balkh with the usual presents and was introduced into the royal presence by Fayd Allah Khan

and Mazhar Khan. He was received in the ghusal-khanah. A khil'at and Rs.10,000 were given to him.[1] (Ma'athir, p. 20) He was dismissed in the month of Shawwal with a reward of Rs.25,000, a khil'at, a jewelled sword, and an elephant with silver saddle. Rs.10,000 were given to the members of his suite.[2] (Ibid, p.90.) Next year an ambassador arrived from Bukhara.[3] (Ibid. p. 104.)

In 1080, Taz Khan was sent to Turan with presents worth Rs.200,000 and Rs.120,000 to 'Abd al-'Aziz and Subhan Quli, respectively. The ambassador's mansab was increased before his departure. Taz Khan returned after six years in 1086 with Mulla Muhammad Tahir, who was dismissed after a
time with suitable reward. 'Abd al-'Aziz, too/sent an ambassador with a 196
letter in 1081 A.H.[4] (Ibid. p. 158.)

As there was a great famine and civil war in Turan, no one came from that country till 1091 A.H., when 'Abd al-'Aziz abdicated the throne of Bukhara in favour of his brother Subhan Quli[5] (Ibid, p.216.) and, like his ancestors, left for the Holy Places. Subhan Quli immediately despatched Qalandar Beg to his old friend Aurangzeb with a letter and presents. Two years later, Rahman Quli came from Bukhara Aurangzeb was at this time sorely harassed by continual disturbances among the Afghans in general and the Ghilzays in particular.[6] (Ibid, pp. 145-46. Cf. Ishwardas 71a for disturbance in Afghanistan.) He suspected Persian intrigues in those regions to divert his attention from the conquest of their southern allies for which he was making active preparation. He also suspected the Persians of desiring to attack India.[7] (Storia II, 322.) But his fears were not quite justified, as the Safavi dynasty was now living only on its past reputation, and was in reality too weak to undertake any great enterprise.

In 1096, he sent Wafadar Khan, the grandson of Sa'id Khan to Bukhara with elephants and other valuable presents. At the time of his departure he was given the title of Zabardast Khan; an elephant and Rs.10,000 were bestowed upon him, his mansab too was increased by 400 horse.[1] (Ma'athir, p. 255.) The object of his mission is nowhere given in any Indian histories, but Tadhkirah-i-Muqim-Khani says that Aurangzeb wanted to form an alliance with Subhan Quli against the Qizilbashes,[2] (This is supported by the analysis of the Russian historians who say: "L'objet de cette ambassade etait d'engager le monarque Uzbek a combattre avec lui les Persans, ennemis de la religion et les lours en particulier.") and tried to induce the Khan to attack Khurasan and thus compel them to give up their intrigues in Afghanistan and the Deccan. Zabardast Khan was sent at the time of laying siege to Bijapur and, as Aurangzeb was busy in the Deccan, he would have been much embrassed by a Persian attempt to create a diversion on the North-West Frontier, so he approached the Uzbegs to forestall it by invading Khurasan.[3] (But Persia was too weak to take such action. Aurangzeb was deceived by the outward calm in Persia, the splendour of the court and their intrigues in Afghanistan.)

Aurangzeb like his predecessors had no intention of participating actively in the quarrels of Central Asia,[4] (Strangely enough Gribble (History of the Deccan I) says: "It is alleged documents exist which show that Aurangzeb's intention was ultimately to found a great Empire in Central Asia." Probably he was thinking of Shahjahan.) but he would have welcomed the downfall of the Safavi dynasty and, if possible, the return of Qandahar by means of intrigues, the Central Asiatic States

being a very good instrument for the purpose. So long as Persia was strong enough to exercise moral or political pressure, the total annihilation of the/Shi'ah States of the Deccan was impossible, but with a crippled 197
Persia their end could not be far off, and the Emperor could then pursue his activities in the South without any fear of being stabbed in the back by their age-long ally in the North-West. It was a cherished hope of Aurangzeb to shatter this anti-Mughal balance of power once for all. Aurangzeb succeeded in accomplishing this task towards the end of this life. The Safavi Empire was tottering, partly as the result of his intrigues and money, and its allies in the South of India disappeared completely. Apparently both the cultural and political influence of the Shi'ahs in India had been broken by the occupation of its two greatest centres, but Aurangzeb hardly realised that this task had drained the life-blood of the Mughal Empire, which was reduced to exhaustion from which it could never recover until the Mutiny blew out the last flickering flame of its life.

In his letter to Subhan Quli, Aurangzeb apologises for delay in sending the embassy, which was partly due to the affairs of Muhammad Sadiq and partly to the rebellion of Rana, a noble of India, who refused to pay jizyah, and Akbar's joining the "heretic" rebel. He also speaks of reducing Bijapur, that "nest of Shi'ah intrigues" and of having punished Sambha in the South and the Kalmaks in the North. In the end he expresses a hope that Khanahzad Zabardast Khan will succeed in reviving the old alliance and friendship.[1] (The text of the letter is given in Tadhkirah-i-Muqim-Khani.)

Sultan Sulayman II of Turkey approached both Aurangzeb and Subhan Quli for a similar alliance six years later,[1] (For his letter to Aurangzeb, f. 18a; and Subhan Quli, f. 19a, Brit. Mus. MS OR 7857.) but Bukhara was too weak and sorely harassed by her two foes, Urganj and Khwarazm, to be an effective ally; besides, she was torn by internal strife.

On his return, Zabardast Khan was promoted to the coveted post of governor of Oudh and his mansab was further increased.

Shortly before his death, Subhan Quli sent Nazr Beg with a letter and presents.[2] (Ma'athir, p.237.) After Subhan Quli's death Trans-Oxiana was again plunged into terrible civil war between the factions supporting 'Ubayd Allah and Muqim Khan, and no one came from those regions till 1113 A.H., when 'Ubayd Allah sent Qutb ad-Din with presents and a letter. Aurangzeb was too far removed now from Central Asia to take any active interest in the politics of those regions.

In the beginning of his reign so liberal were Aurangzeb's awards to foreign envoys that even the petty States of Central Asia were tempted to send some. In addition to the embassies mentioned above, Aurangzeb received in 1074 A.H. (1664 A.C.) Mir Hajji Fawlad from 'Abd Allah Khan of Kashghar, and sent Khwajah Ishaq in return.[3] (Alamgirnamah, pp. 858 and 861.) He received two more embassies from Kashghar; in
198 1079 came 'Abd ar-Rashid, and/in 1101 'Abd ar-Rahim Beg.[4] (Ma'athir, p. 79.) In 1667, he also received Asham Beg from Urganj with a letter from Muhammad Khan.[5] ('Alamgirnamah, p. 1048) Two more embassies arrived from Urganj, one in 1671[6] (Ma'athir, p. 112.) and the other in 1681.[7] (Ibid, p. 207.)

'Abd Allah Khan, the deposed ruler of Kashghar, came to India and was suitably provided for.[1] ('Alamgirnamah, p. 1064; Ma'athir, p. 71, Storia II, 190.)

It is fitting that a few words should be said here about the rapid decline of the Mughal Empire during the last few years of Aurangzeb's reign.

As has been pointed out elsewhere, the terrible reverse in Central Asia had far-reaching effects and it changed the economic and political condition of the Empire. It was only natural that in a highly centralised government, as that of the Mughals, the first signs of weakness should have manifested themselves on the North-West Frontier of the Empire. Close at its heel came the disastrous expeditions to Qandahar and the War of Succession. Had Aurangzeb after his success realised the importance of a constructive economic policy instead of the wild goose chase in the South, the Mughal Empire would have been given a new lease of life. What was wanted at this juncture was a new mind rather than old dogmas. One wonders why Aurangzeb's long reign did not produce a single minister or governor of outstanding ability. Was it that his active brain was too dominating for the display of the administrative capacity of any minister? Or was there a real dearth of capable men? It is beyond doubt that the greatness of his predecessors was due to their great minister. Bayram Khan, Abu'l-Fadl, Hakim abu'l-Fath, Todar Mal, 'Asaf Khan, 'Sa'd Allah, 'Ali Mardan, Afdal Khan and other able ministers were as much r responsible for building up the Mughal Empire as sagacious sovereigns like Akbar, Jahangir and Shahjahan. It is true that in the beginning of his reign Aurangzeb had eminent advisers like Mir Jumlah, Fadil Khan,

Danishmand and others, but they were all men of his father's time who soon disappeared from the scene. Had there been a mind like that of Abu'l-Fadl to tackle the economic and political problems that arose during the last few years of Shahjahan's reign the history of the Mughal Empire would perhaps have been different. But the guiding hand of Providence had decreed that at this greatest crisis in the life of the Empire the presiding genius, instead of following a constructive economic and political policy should seek military glory in the South.

---oOo---

BIBLIOGRAPHY

199 Besides the Mughal histories the following manuscripts have been utilised:-

1. Mirza Haydar Dulghat, Ta'rikh-i-Rashidi, Br. Mus. MS. Add.24090.

2. Muhammad Yusuf b. Khwajah Baqa, Tadhkirah-i-Muqim-Khani. Royal Asiatic Society's MS No.161. This is an interesting history of the Uzbeg Khans of Trans-Oxiana. The author dedicated his work to Muqim Khan, a son of Subhan Quli. The history comprises a preface and three books. Preface: The genealogy of Bazanjar Khan up to 'Abd al-Khayr Khan, who reigned for 40 years over Dasht-i-Qipchak, from the country of Rus (Russia) to the boundary of Bulghar and Turkistan, and was the grandfather of Shaybani Khan. Book I: The Shaybanids (from Shaybani to 'Abd al-Mu'min.) Book II: The Ashtarkhanis (from Jan Muhammad to Subhan Quli.) Book III: Account of Muqim Khan.

3. Tanish b. Muhammad al-Bukhari,,'Abdullahnamah. India Office, MS, No.574. A very rare and useful history of 'Abd Allah Khan Uzbeg and his son 'Abd Al-Mu'min.

4. Muhammad b. Amir Wali, Bahr al-Asrar fi Manaqaib al-Akhyar. A history of the Ashtarkhani sovereigns.

5. Mirza Beg b. Hasan Hasani, Rawadat as-Safaviyyah, Brit. Mus. MS OR 3388. A history of the Safavi dynasty from its origin to the reign of Shah Safi I.

6. Muhammad 'Ali b. Nurah, History of Shah Isma'il Brit. Mus. MS OR 3245.

7. Amir Muhammad b. Amir Khwandamir, History of Isma'il and Tahmasp. Brit. Mus. MS OR 2939.

8. Husayn Beg Rumlu, A hasn at-Tawarikh, Brit. Mus. MS OR 4134.

9. Afdal at-Tawarikh. Brit. Mus. MS. A rare history of the reign of Tahmasp by an unknown author.

10. Iskandar Munshi, Ta'rikh-i-Alam-Ara-i-Abbasi, Brit. Mus. MS Add. 16684.

11. Jalal ad-Din Munajjim Yazdi, History of Shah 'Abbas I. Brit. Mus. MS Add. 27241.

12. Khuld-i-Barin.

13. Mirza Tahir Wahid, Ta'rikh-i-Tahir. Brit. Mus. MS Add. 11632.

14. Wali Quli Shamlu, Qisas-i-Khaqani, Brit. Mus. MS Add. 7656.

15. Kamal ad-Din b. Jalal, Zubdat at-Tawarikh. Brit. Mus. MS OR 2060.

16. Ruqa'at-i-Shah 'Abbas II, Brit. Mus. MS Add. 7690.

---oOo---

INDEX OF PERSONS

(A)

(B)

(C)

(D)

('D' Contd.)

(E)

(F)

(G)

(H)

'H' Contd.

(K) Contd.

(M) Contd.

(M) Contd.

(N)

(P)

(Q)

(Q) Contd.

<u>(S) Contd.</u>

(T)

(U)

(V)

(W)

(Y)

(Z)

------o0o------

Index of Places

'A'

'B'

'C'

'D'

'K' Contd.

'L'

'M'

'N'

'O'

'P'

Stencils Cut and Cyclostyled by A.K. Kazi, Stenographer, History Dept